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HEALTH AND THE STATE

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TRAUMATIC MENTAL DISORDERS IN COURTS
OF LAW

FOUNDATIONS OF HUMAN CONFLICTS

A STUDY IN GROUP PSYCHOLOGY

By

WILLIAM A. BREND

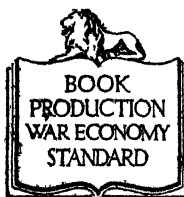
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PREFACE

A CONSIDERABLE part of this book was written before the war. It was put aside at the outbreak of hostilities and has only recently been finished. The views it expresses as to the psychological foundations of conflicts between groups of men are accordingly based upon pre-war observations, and the events of the war itself have not led me to change my opinions in any way ; they have indeed provided an opportunity of illustrating and testing my previous conclusions.

It is unlikely that after the present war the European nations will engage in active hostilities among themselves for some years, since many of them will be too weary and impoverished to fight, and others will be held down if necessary by their conquerors. But the spirit of nationalism, the emotion without which war would not occur, will remain, and the test of statesmanship today in preventing war in the future will depend upon the way in which that spirit of nationalism is everywhere handled during the post-war years. The real test of present efforts to establish permanent peace cannot come until a new generation has grown which has not known the horrors of war, and we who have lived through those horrors are passing away. -

Other types of conflict will remain, and in the absence of the influences which tend to unite men during war, will probably even be accentuated. Religious antagonisms will persist in many parts of the world, and class differences, now only thinly veiled by the international war, will reassert themselves and may cause bloody conflicts ; while the struggle between the young and the old, still largely unrecognised, will become apparent to all as its most biologically harmful effect, the continuing fall in the birth-rate, year by year reduces the population.

The resolving of these disharmonies will probably demand social changes, some of too drastic a character to be accepted at present. Hence the proposals made in this book express a long-term view of the situation, since it is recognised that some of them could be adopted only after a process of social education ; and it is with the future and the interests of the coming

generation more in mind than the problems of the immediate present that the book has been written.

Parts of Chapters X and XIII have already appeared in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, and I am indebted to the Editor for kind permission to reproduce them. I have also to express my thanks to Mrs. Therese La Chard for reading the proofs and for many helpful suggestions.

WILLIAM A. BREND.

February, 1944.

FOUNDATIONS OF HUMAN CONFLICTS

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM : THE FAILURE TO USE INTELLIGENCE

For having passed wisdom by,
Not only were they disabled from recognising the things which are good,
But they also left behind them by their life a monument of their folly.
Wisdom of Solomon.

"And there he found all the wise people instructing mankind in the science of spirit-rapping, while their house was burning over their heads : and when Tom told them of the fire, they held an indignation meeting forthwith, and unanimously determined to hang Tom's dog for coming into their country with gunpowder in his mouth."

Water-Babies.

IN 1914 Britain, in alliance with France and Belgium, entered reluctantly into a war which proved long and bloody. At the termination of hostilities the enemy was crushed, and the victorious Allies seemed to be in a position to make any reconstruction in Europe that they wished. Twenty-one years later the whole of that advantage had been lost : France was prostrate before the same enemy, Britain was fighting for her very life, and the German armies had invaded, pillaged and enslaved a large part of Europe. Probably never in the history of humanity had there been such a sweeping reversal of positions in so short a space of time.

Many explanations have been given for this tragic and humiliating failure : the Treaty of Versailles was too vindictive ; America crippled the League of Nations by not joining it ; France should have had the Rhine frontier ; a strong Germany was necessary as a protection against Bolshevism, etc. But while each of these statements may have had an element of truth in it, even combined they are inadequate to explain why the intelligence and efforts of great communities were powerless either to prevent the menace from arising or to stop its culmination in war. The crisis did not come upon Europe suddenly : it followed twenty years of abortive attempts to establish permanent peace between men, and the

appalling danger was recognised by some at least of those in authority—Mr. Baldwin for instance when he said, "Our frontier is on the Rhine."

The inter-war years have been marked by violence or dissension in many parts of the world. Hostility between Eire and Northern Ireland has been continuous ; before the outbreak of war Irishmen were placing bombs on British bridges and streets, and to-day, while Britain is defending Eire against Germany, Eire refuses to allow her the use of the Atlantic seaports. In India the position is equally deplorable and ludicrous. The Indian people resent the prospect of Nazi rule as much as do the British, yet large sections of the Indian population are sullenly unwilling to help to defeat the common foe ; some of India's most distinguished spokesmen are in prison ; fanaticism is rampant and rival religious organisations assail each other. In Palestine endless schemes have failed to prevent Jew and Arab from springing at each others' throats. Italy, whose people in the past have led the world in culture, demoralised by a bragging, brutal bully, invaded and crushed Abyssinia ; Germany, in a state of even greater degradation, attacked or menaced country after country in Europe ; Spain was exhausted by a bloody civil war, while the efforts of the Non-Intervention Committee presented a derisory spectacle to the world. Russia's social policy has been at a cost of much bloodshed. China after years of internal strife had to meet the aggression of Japan. ✓

Nor has domestic policy been any happier. In Britain, between the two World Wars, millions of people were unemployed for years and living in poverty, yet wide areas of fertile land went out of cultivation ; a large proportion of the slum population is under-nourished, and many children evacuated to the country from the towns were found to be verminous and dirty in their habits. The masses of the people have accepted these conditions with apathy, and only twice in twenty years have been sufficiently aroused to send representatives of their own class to the legislature in any appreciable numbers. The fall in the birth-rate, to such an extent as to threaten the very continuance of the community, is another indication of unhealthy social conditions. France, between the wars, has been divided by economic and political violence. The United States, with more than half the gold in the world buried in its cellars, has passed through the greatest economic crisis on record ; has allowed vast areas of land to

become desert through sheer lack of forethought, and has been the scene of constant industrial strife.

When we examine the origins of these conflicts and failures we find that few of them are the result of deliberate malfeasance ; they illustrate the general truth that much more harm is done in the world by ignorance and stupidity than by intentional ill-will. Moreover many of the conflicts have occurred against the wishes of the majority of the people affected, circumstances apparently pushing them into positions in which conflict becomes inevitable. This is particularly true of international strife, and it is safe to say that the great majority of people in all countries do not want war. Until actual hostilities begin they have no desire to kill masses of unknown men in another country against whom they have hitherto felt no hostility. Even in Germany, regarded for generations as the most bellicose nation in Europe, a wave of relief swept through the country when the Chamberlain-Hitler meeting was interpreted by the masses as assuring peace. The establishment of the League of Nations, by no means the first of such collective efforts, represented a sincere desire on the part of the nations to find a way other than war for settling international disputes, yet it failed.

This cursory survey shows that men are still very far from having learned how to govern themselves. Everywhere they are bewildered and uncertain. They wish to take a particular course, to establish a form of society for which they believe themselves to be fitted, yet constantly their ideal eludes them. Old values and old beliefs have disappeared and nothing has replaced them. Over a great part of the world the forces of destruction have become more potent than those of construction, and man's monuments and achievements of centuries are disappearing ; different forms of Governments and social institutions have all failed to provide communities of men with safety against their fellow-men, while in many countries they cannot get even the bare necessities of life. Men long for liberty, and in some countries they desperately persuade themselves that they are "free," striving to ignore the old or new chains of their own forging which still bind them, yet they have in fact created a social environment which to a large extent they cannot control. Man has gained a vast amount of knowledge, has made astonishing discoveries in every branch of science, and has acquired a power of using the forces of nature, which, applied to his advantage,

would have relieved him of many social evils regarded as unavoidable in earlier times. Yet, while constantly groping for the light, he has used much of this power for his own destruction.

Humanity as a whole must accept responsibility for its present terrible plight. Recent history has led us to speak of "aggressor" nations, and it is true that in any individual war or social conflict one of the belligerents is usually far more responsible than the other, but we cannot permanently divide nations into the sheep and goats in this way, for there is scarcely a nation which at some time or other has not shown aggressiveness towards its neighbours. As regards other forms of conflict, there is not a religion which has not been bitterly intolerant of other religions and of heresies within its own faith, Christianity most of all ; and there is scarcely a people who have not been rent by social divisions sometimes terminating in civil war. Change is inseparable in social development, and the lambs of one generation become the lions of the next.

Man has obtained a large measure of control over his physical environment. He alone of the animal kingdom has been able to modify his surroundings so as to enable him to live in any climate from the Arctic to the Tropics, and wherever he has gone he has made the earth yield her fruits for his support. But he has yet to learn to control his emotional environment, and we shall see that his failures are due to his allowing his emotions to invade and influence him in spheres which should have been governed strictly by reason. In a community of men the individual is allowed to give play to his emotions only to a limited extent or under defined conditions, and if he gives expression to them in an unpermitted direction or to an unpermitted degree the community takes steps to restrain him. But there is no super-authority to control communities and consequently they have much more freedom of emotional expression. Human societies to-day may be compared to the stage of childhood in which the child hits out at any influence which tries to restrain it ; the demand of every nation for independence, even in some cases against their material interests, is like the childish intolerance of authority. Men may have put away childish things but in aggregates they still see only in a glass darkly. Their emotions are aroused by some event or process, and they find themselves compelled by a psychological force to act in a certain way, from which each individual, or the majority of the individuals, would

have refrained if he had been acting on his own judgment. Their power of control by reason has now in fact passed to one whom they call their "leader," in the choice of whom they may have had little or no say. In small groups, and in the absence of physical tyranny, men can achieve fairly complete control over their collective conduct, but as the group grows larger, opportunities for conflicting interests and divergent opinions increase, and in his largest aggregates man has very little control over his destinies. * As we shall see man is not naturally a fighting organism in the sense which are the carnivora, yet his whole history is stained with the blood of his fellow-men.

MASS ACTION

We are concerned throughout this book with the psychological principles which control or influence men when acting in aggregates, and, particularly in Chapter III, the origin of the group bond is investigated. It will be convenient here, however, to examine certain popular views as to the nature of mass action in men, not for the purpose at the moment of explaining mass action, which will be attempted later, but because the examination will demonstrate the complexity and difficulty of the problem which lies before us, that of determining why men in the aggregate so often act in a way directly contrary to their interests and harmful to the species.

Most writers on the psychology of mass action in men have credited the aggregate with a kind of group mind in which that of the individual becomes lost. Francis Galton (1883) described "gregarious and slavish instincts" in man which make him subservient to custom, authority and tradition; others have found a social instinct which influences the aggregate. Le Bon (*The Crowd*, 1896) states that an individual in a crowd is unconscious of his acts and behaves as if hypnotised "either in consequence of the magnetic influence given out by the crowd, or from some other cause of which we are ignorant," and Wilfred Trotter (*Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, 1916) found a "herd instinct" in men. Dr. J. T. MacCurdy, Lecturer on Psychopathology in the University of Cambridge, the most recent writer on this subject, prefers the term "herd voice," and says :—

"Man, be he never so individual, can never escape his biological fate of being a herd animal. As such he feels

happy, secure and efficient when he is in contact with his fellows and, conversely, is disquieted, timid and ineffective when cut off from them. . . . The man who would attempt to maintain the dictate of his conscience against mob fury finds himself an isolated pariah—he might even be attacked as an accomplice of the alleged criminal. He wants ‘moral backing’ and can find it only by joining the pack. He then gives himself up to that peculiar abandonment of self in a joint activity which yields an almost ecstatic pleasure, the pleasure of perfect drill, of singing in true unison, of rowing in a crew that has become one man. Conflict between individual and group standards no longer exists simply because there is no individual left. All that was peculiar to himself is gone; he has become an undifferentiated unit in that insensate monster we call a mob.”¹

With all due deference to so distinguished a writer, it is impossible to admit that these views are based upon accurate observations of human behaviour. Men do not lose their individuality in crowds, nor do they show anything comparable to a group mind until they have been trained to do so. Let us take a simple illustration; a tube-train suddenly stops in a tunnel and the lights go out; the passengers have now become a crowd united by a sense of possible danger, but each acts according to his temperament; some are annoyed and impatient, some take the matter quite calmly, and some get frightened and call for lights or strike matches. An observer will note great differences of behaviour in persons in any similar type of position, *e.g.* those in an air-raid shelter during an attack, or those on the deck of a sinking ship; even in a company of soldiers advancing to attack some will display great bravery and resource, others will falter. Nor is it correct to say that men are happy and secure when in contact with their fellows and disquieted when cut off from them. What people want is the society of their friends and relatives, with whom the bonds have been personally formed and are not the result of any “herd voice”; given these, they are more likely to resent than to welcome the presence of strangers.

Dr. MacCurdy instances a rowing crew and a choir as groups in which, under the herd influence, the individual disappears. But this again is surely an incorrect observation, for the individuals in these groups must be acutely aware of themselves the whole

¹ *Morale*, 1943.

time. Stroke in an eight must constantly exercise his judgment, and each oarsman behind him must be ready to pick up at once any variation in the rate of stroking, be careful to maintain his length, and be continually on his guard not to relapse into the faults against which he has been trained. Similar constant awareness of himself and control of his actions is required from the man in the drill squad ; and the singer in the choir must be ever attentive to the conductor's baton. It is true that all the persons in these groups are striving to achieve a common purpose but they attain the perfect result only by prolonged and assiduous training. So far from their activities expressing anything in the nature of herd action, they are excellent examples of *co-operative* action resulting entirely from learning, and although each individual may be doing the same act, they are no less co-operative than is an orchestra, each member of which is playing a different instrument.

Dr. MacCurdy speaks of a crew or a choir as a mob, but even the apparently spontaneous activities of the untrained aggregate, which is usually regarded as constituting a mob, are the result of a number of persons receiving the same stimulus simultaneously and not of a psychological entity attaching specially to crowds. Each of the persons who rushes to the door of a blazing hall in an effort to escape would equally do so if he were in the hall alone, and there is no more a herd instinct in this action than there is in the simultaneous laughter at the joke in the theatre or the emotion aroused in an audience by a great tragedian. The individuals of an angry mob are quite ready to exercise their own judgment if necessary, as shown by the rapidity with which a mob will fade away when threatened by a few shots from the police.

.' All effective mass action is the result of training, either deliberately undertaken, or insensibly acquired by social experience, whether the individuals of the mass constitute a congregation in a church, a political meeting, a regiment in the field, a football team, or form a scattered group, as do the members of a religious sect. The individual in an aggregate necessarily behaves differently from the way he does when acting alone because of the difference in the environment which tends to increase his sense of power and diminish his sense of responsibility, but the behaviour of each one is none the less determined by his intelligence, training and emotional make-up. There is no vestige of evidence for a herd instinct which prompts men to combined action, and there

is no fundamental difference between the processes of thought of men working in groups and of those working singly.

The fact that in order to explain man's irrational conduct it has been necessary to credit him with a herd instinct, as well as with other instincts for the existence of which we shall see there is no evidence, shows how obscure is the problem confronting us, and this book represents one more effort to solve it, and to show that the effects of training and environment far outweigh those of any inherited or instinctive tendency. In the succeeding chapter an examination is made of the very different effects of an emotional experience on men according to whether it is the result of a direct sensory stimulus or originates in an intellectual appreciation, and it is hoped to show that only emotions in the latter category lead to mass conflict. Thereafter an investigation is made of the persisting effects on the adult of the early impressions and emotions derived by him during infancy, and childhood from the group of persons in his immediate environment. A synthesis of the two principles derived from these examinations will, it is submitted, throw much light on mass conflicts between men, which are studied in detail in later chapters.

Men fight each other individually over many causes, but overt mass conflict is limited to international war, conflicts between religions, and social differences; in addition there is a less obvious but not less harmful clash between the young and the old. These are all based upon emotional factors, for whatever be the underlying economic causes of war, they do not stimulate the masses of a people to fight, since national economics are too remote from them. The masses fight under the emotional stimulus of patriotism; religious differences are based entirely upon emotion; and we shall see that emotion is an important factor in maintaining class differences. The principle to be developed here is that the ultimate psychological factors in all forms of mass conflict are the same, and that the understanding of these influences alone will point the way to preventing animosities between men developing into violence. In ascribing war in Europe to Hitler's megalomania, or the war in the East to Japanese aggression, or the dissensions in India to the intransigence of Congress, we touch only the penultimate or ante-penultimate causes. Efforts to establish permanent peace by means of treaties, alliances and federations always break down

sooner or later because they deal only with the immediate cause of the conflict and do not touch the underlying conditions which have rendered the conflict possible. The effort to bind posterity shows a static conception of society when in fact it is constantly changing, and however much we personify countries, and "England," "France," "U.S.A." and "U.S.S.R." make treaties, we, of to-day can never bind posterity ; we can never prevent our descendants from denouncing or breaking treaties at a later date. But the fundamental causes of conflict between men do not change. What the contestants do after each fight, whether it be international or civil, is to arrive at a settlement or compromise on those matters which have afforded the immediate expression of the underlying antagonism, that is unless one of them has been so completely defeated as to have to submit to the will of the other. Then when, in a constantly changing environment, the agreement becomes intolerable to one of the parties, or the vanquished again becomes strong enough to challenge the victor, the fundamental difference reasserts itself and fresh war results. It is like the process of constantly cutting down weeds, leaving their roots in the soil, later to reproduce their noxious growth. The terrible failures of the last half-century justify us in re-examining to their very bases those convictions, ideals and institutions which we are accustomed to regard as the foundations of society. If we who have lived through one war, and some of us through two and even three wars, sincerely wish to help our descendants, it will not be sufficient to establish machinery merely to deal with disputes as they arise ; we must establish an environment in which mass disputes will not arise. We must strive to eliminate those divisions between men which have always been at the bottom of their quarrels, the national, religious and class divisions, and the clash between the young and the old. These cleavages are not based upon anything inherent or innate or unavoidable in mankind ; they have no biological validity and no scientific sanction. They are deviations from the broad path of social evolution, injurious to the species as a whole, and responsible for the major part of human unhappiness.

CHAPTER II

SPHERES OF EMOTION IN HUMAN AFFAIRS

"Vain, foolish Man! wilt thou believe without experiment,
And build a World of Phantasy upon my 'great Abyss,
A World of Shapes in craving lust and devouring appetite?"
Blake.

HUMAN actions are ordinarily brought about by a combination of reason and emotion. We feel, as a result of some stimulus, an urge to do something and then we use our reason in an attempt to gratify or resist that urge. But many writers also speak of action as prompted by *instinct* though they rarely define what they mean by that word. We have already had one instance in the "herd instinct," and in succeeding chapters we shall have further instances of statesmen, administrators and sociologists supporting arguments in defence of patriotism, or religious or other emotions by appeal to instinct. In view of the very prevalent belief that instinct plays an important part in human conduct, it will be helpful before proceeding further to show how small in fact is this part, that is if we give the word instinct its only possible scientific definition. This will leave the field clear for consideration of the really effective factors.

THE UNIMPORTANCE OF INSTINCT IN MAN

The great variety of senses in which the word instinct has been used may be illustrated by the following recent instances:—

"The Tories are always guided more by instinct than by reason" (Beverley Baxter, M.P.).

"The British sailor is following a racial instinct—that inborn sea spirit of an island race" (Admiral of the Fleet Lord Chatfield).

"Never had my instinct said more firmly, 'Go East'" (Clare Hollingworth).

"The landworker's instinctive consciousness that in his occupation he and his God co-operate" (Bishop of Salisbury).

"The Victorian instinct in favour of taboos" (Robert Lynd).

"It was a sound instinct which led brokers to sell War Loan to-day" (*City Notes*).

"The instinct of family unity, an instinct which is stronger

among the poor than among those who are better off" (*Sunday Times*).

"The instinct of any French workman is to cultivate individualism" (*Observer*).

"Fear of being frightened . . . is clearly due to a conflict between two powerful instincts—the instinct of self-preservation and the herd instinct which strongly condemns what seems like cowardice" (Sir Walter Langdon-Brown, M.D.).¹

"It is by a sure instinct that we hold so firmly to the ideal of character. But what precisely is the content of that ideal to be now?" (Sir Fred. Clarke, Professor of Education in University of London).

"A sound racial instinct continued to require from their young men painful conformity to such otherwise meaningless customs as tattooing" (Conservative Sub-Committee on Education, speaking of Polynesians after contact with Western civilisation).

In this assemblage we have instincts which exercise purely intellectual functions ; others which appraise conduct and express moral censure ; instincts which vary with economic or educational status or political party, an instinct which is uncertain of itself, and, in the last, a remarkable instinct which is "sound" in spite of being meaningless.

In ordinary speech the loose usage of the word instinct may not be misleading, but when employed in an ill-defined sense by statesmen, diplomatists and others in positions of authority, to support arguments profoundly affecting the well-being of the community it may become highly dangerous. The use of the word in this way is a cloak for ignorance or laziness ; it is resorted to when the speaker really does not know or understand the motives for some particular conduct, or cannot be troubled to analyse them. In such circumstances to describe the conduct as "instinctive" saves further thinking, and, like the similar use of its near relative, "human nature," is regarded as providing a clinching argument for the view propounded.

L. L. Bernard has defined an instinct as "an inherited specific response to a specific stimulus or set of stimuli."² Other biologists have given slightly different definitions, but the essential features of an instinct are that it pertains to all members of the species and

¹ Actually the simultaneous action of animals in a herd, the so-called "herd instinct," is far more often flight from danger than resistance to it.

² *Instinct: a Study in Social Psychology*, 1924.

not merely to some individuals, and that it is inherited and does not have to be learned by each generation or individual afresh. The migratory instinct in swallows for instance urges them to their mass flight southward in the autumn and their return in the following spring, but the fact that Miss Hollingworth failed to recognise the motives which impelled her to go in a certain direction, did not make her action "instinctive." Generation after generation each species of birds builds its characteristic nest, and the hereditary nature of the instinct is well shown by the fact that the fledglings of one year build nests the following year characteristic in every detail of their species although they have never seen a nest under construction. Animals in a state of nature are guided almost wholly by instinct. Each species recognises at once its appropriate food and mode of life. The rabbit makes its burrow ; the beaver builds its dam ; the deer flees from its enemies and the tiger attacks them. Each generation of each species mates and rears its young according to its specific pattern. Some animals can be trained not to obey their instincts, and new actions and responses to stimuli can be induced in individual animals by training, as we see in performing and domesticated animals, such responses being termed "conditioned reflexes," but the thwarting of any of the stronger instincts in animals is difficult to achieve, and is necessarily distressing to the animal. The element of control of conduct by intelligence in animals is small, and many of the actions of animals, popularly regarded as evidence of intelligence, are in fact only manifestations of conditioned reflexes.

In the human being, on the other hand, activity is governed almost entirely by intelligence and conditioned reflexes, instinct playing very little part. The newly-born infant can cry when hurt, thus attracting the attention of the mother, and can suck and swallow, for without these capacities it would not survive ; there is some evidence of a maternal instinct coming into activity *after* the birth of a child though any inborn urge to protect the infant is strengthened by learned social requirements ; there is the urge of hunger arising from an internal secretory stimulus, and there is the rather indefinite sex urge. Almost all other human activities have laboriously to be learned, and that is why the period of immaturity in the human species is so vastly longer than in animals, amounting to nearly a quarter of the whole period of life. There is no such thing as an "instinct of self-preserva-

tion " in the human species, every protective reaction to threat of danger having to be acquired in infancy and childhood. Even that agglomeration of activities and emotions sometimes contradictory, which we loosely term the "sex instinct" is to a large extent acquired afresh by each individual.

As long as men believed in a special creation of the human species, the gap between them and other animals was regarded as unbridgable. Then came the evolutionists and man lost his high position. Now he was no longer thought to be unique but merely the last link in a chain of inferior forbears, differing from them only in degree. In consequence, principles derived from observation of lower animals were applied to him; he was credited with instincts which he does not possess, and his international and class conflicts were identified with the Darwinian struggle for existence and given a spurious justification on the principle of survival of the fittest. Yet the close linking of man to the lower forms was incorrect, for he is still unique. He is the only animal which possesses the ability to forecast his future and to strive to mould it to his wishes. He does this by virtue of his capacity to reason, which has rendered him nearly independent of instincts, has equipped him with a weapon in the struggle for existence almost unknown to the animals and has separated him from them by an interval so great as to render any deductions from their behaviour applied to him dangerous and unreliable.

One cause of the constant ascription of instincts to man is confusion between this form of behaviour and reflex action or conditioned reflexes. These are responses to stimuli which are not inborn but are acquired by the individual, either by deliberate training, or by an unintended association of some stimulus with an act. After a certain number of repetitions the response is carried out automatically or subconsciously and is then loosely but erroneously spoken of as "instinctive." For instance putting up the arm to ward off a blow is not instinctive; it is a conditioned reflex, and a young child will make no such attempt to protect itself until it has learned by experience to do so. It is the lack of an instinct of self-preservation in the human species which makes it so essential to protect children from the dangers which surround them until they have learned to do this themselves. A reflex may be so powerful as to compel conduct which is contrary to reason, as in the quite possibly true story of the old soldier who dropped his dinner when suddenly called to "atten-

tion," but an urge does not become instinctive merely because it is powerful.

In communities many persons living in more or less the same environment necessarily acquire the same conditioned reflexes as well as similar habits of thought. Because they are widespread these similarities are assumed by social reformers and politicians to be the results of instincts and are given a universality which is not justified. In this way we get "social instincts," "higher instincts," "religious instincts," "national instincts," etc. We shall have various instances of the errors which these generalisations have led to, but one may conveniently be given here. In a well-known book, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, first published in 1916, Sir Wilfred Trotter said :—

"The word 'instinct' is used here to denote inherited modes of reaction to bodily need or external stimulus. *It is difficult to draw a sharp distinction between instinct and mere reflex action, and an attempt to do so is of no particular value.* In general we may say that the reactions which should be classed as under the head of instinct are delayed (that is not necessarily carried out with fatal promptitude immediately upon the stimulus), complex (that is consist of acts rather than mere movements) and may be accompanied by quite elaborate mental processes."

The sentence I have italicised in the above very elastic definition shows that the distinguished author is not using the word instinct with the meaning given to it by biologists. Throughout his book he fails to differentiate between two radically different forms of conduct, one inherited, common to all members of the species, and usually only to be opposed with great difficulty ; the other, conduct which must be learned afresh by each individual, often laboriously and with imperfect result. Consequently he frequently attributes to instinct, conduct which is obviously the result of environment thereby invalidating many of his conclusions, and he is driven to employ a definition which is so wide as to be capable of including almost any form of human conduct. Moreover, it is impossible to draw a distinction between an act and a movement other than that the former is consciously controlled, which removes it from the category of instinct. This digression on instinct has been necessitated by the popular confusion which exists over the meaning of that word, and the

sense in which it will be used in this book having now been indicated, we can resume consideration of the acquired emotions and reactions which do in fact play the major part in human activities:

DIRECT AND DERIVED EMOTIONS

Emotions are initiated in us by two radically different ways : (1) we may see an event which arouses in us some emotion or hear emotional sounds such as screams, or (2) we may read or be told of the same event. The emotional effect produced on us by the event differs widely according to which of these two channels is the means by which we become aware of it. We may see an unknown child knocked down in the road and crushed, or we may read of the same event in the newspapers, but while in each case the emotion aroused may appropriately be called "distress," everyone knows that the emotion excited by seeing the event is far greater than that produced in us by reading of the accident, and that its character is different. In the first case we receive an immediate sensory stimulus—a percept, as psychologists call it—which is followed by an intellectual conception and the feeling of an emotion. In the second case the process also begins with a sensory stimulus, but *it is not a stimulus arising directly out of the event* ; it is a visual or auditory stimulus caused by certain marks on paper or certain sounds, and it is not until the intelligence has given these marks or sounds a meaning that any emotional or active effect is produced. The same sensory stimulus of marks or sounds received by a person who did not understand the language would have no effect upon him. To put it in another way, where the source of knowledge of an event is reading or hearing words, intellectual appreciation must be the first step in the chain of subsequent emotion and activity ; on the other hand, where the event is actually seen, it excites an emotion which precedes or is simultaneous with conception by the intellect and possible action.¹

Many instances could be given of the increased effect of receiving impressions through the senses of sight and hearing as compared with an initial intellectual appreciation, even though the knowledge gained in the two cases is precisely the

On the James-Lange theory of the emotions, action precedes the emotion. This, however, does not affect the difference drawn above between the two types of stimuli, which depends upon the profound difference in the initial step.

same. We may read a tragedy of Shakespeare comparatively unmoved ; witnessing the same play performed by good actors may evoke in us strong if evanescent emotions ; we are astounded by the marvels we see performed by the conjurer, but to read of them would be merely tedious.

In the rest of this book I shall speak of those emotions which are excited in us by an immediate sensory stimulus as “direct,” and those which are aroused only after intellectual appreciation—emotions which are not based upon our own sensory experience but upon the experience of others—as “derived,” and we shall see that failure to distinguish between these two types of human experience, and to confine each to its appropriate sphere, gives us the key to much human behaviour which seems anomalous, illogical or harmful. We shall find that constant attempts are made to suggest that emotions excited by one process are really excited by the other, which leads people to believe that many derived emotions are actually direct ; and that this transfer plays a large part in all emotional mass action. It is a source of power in those efforts to influence others which are known as “propaganda,” and we shall find that it is an important factor in the emotions of patriotism, nationalism, religious hostility, and class antagonism.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DIRECT AND DERIVED EMOTIONS

The differences in the effects of these two types of emotion upon us are profound and demand the most careful study. The direct emotions determine the most important personal events in our lives in so far as we are individually free to act upon them. They are responsible for our attitudes towards our parents in early life, our family relations, our friendships, our marriages and our loves and hates. Derived emotions are those involved in collective actions, such as wars, loyal and patriotic demonstrations, and religious movements. They may affect our lives profoundly but mainly by modifying or restricting the free action of direct emotions.

Direct emotions are displayed by all normal persons. They are usually clearly defined and may be very powerful. This is because they are part of our fundamental structure and biological equipment. Without them we should not survive. If we did not feel the emotion of anger or fear we should make no attempt

to defend ourselves against personal attack ; if we did not feel the sex urge we should not reproduce our kind ; if we did not love our children they would not survive infancy. We share these emotions with the animals, they are older than the species, and they must have been present in our remote pre-human ancestors. These statements are in no way inconsistent with what has been said previously about instinct, for though we share the primitive urges with the animals we normally use our intelligence to gratify them. The hungry animal will grasp at food at once ; man must use his intelligence to produce or buy or steal it, the sex-urged animal will strive to copulate as soon as opportunity presents, and the ready female will not resist ; man may need all his acumen to achieve his desires. The derived emotions, on the other hand, depending as they do on intelligence and knowledge, are essentially social acquirements, arising much later in man's history. They could not have been manifested until a material degree of social development had been reached. They imply the existence of language, the capacity to anticipate and make plans for the future, and a more or less settled, social system. Patriotism, for instance, or the emotion connoted by the words " universal brotherhood " would have had no meaning for the primitive wandering groups who, we believe, constituted our ancestors until a comparatively late period.

Important results follow from the fact that while direct emotions are stimulated by actual events perceived by the individual, derived emotions are based on the experiences or alleged experiences of others. The sensory stimulus in the direct emotion is a real experience to the individual even though it be wrongly interpreted by the mind, as when, until we are instructed, we believe that we see the sun move across the heavens. But the hearsay experience which gives rise to a derived emotion may have been wholly non-existent, it may indeed have been a deliberate misrepresentation, and consequently the emotion aroused by it is untrustworthy as a stimulus to action. Accordingly an emotion which rests upon events in the past, perhaps the relatively remote past, which cannot now be directly verified, depends for the soundness of its basis upon the credibility of the event. Hence those interested in spreading a derived emotion, if the evidence for the event is questioned, strive to encourage the belief that doubting the credibility of the event is unseemly or even immoral. This attitude is developed most strongly in

religions which teach that it is impious or even dangerous to question statements in the sacred books or the words of the priesthood. In consequence there are two opposite trends in education and some other social institutions. On the one hand, in an age of science, scientific enquiry is encouraged ; on the other, doubting of authority is deprecated. The emotionalism associated with the latter attitude may be so great as to attain its object simply by preventing a hearing of the resented view.

THE TRANSFERENCE OF EMOTIONS

A derived emotion is always a reviving, a re-echoing so to speak, though in a less intense form, of an emotion originally excited by a direct stimulus. We could not experience the emotions aroused by reading some incident in the newspapers or a moving novel unless we had already experienced kindred emotions in our own personal lives, beginning with the loves, hates, fears, etc., which we all go through in our early years. But the echo is never so strong as the original, and derived emotions, particularly those we are to be chiefly concerned with in this book, those of patriotism, religious devotion and loyalty, have usually to be kept active by frequently repeated stimuli. Even in individual cases, where a related event may cause profound emotion, the heightening influence of sensory adjuvants can still be discerned. A wife, for instance, informed of the death of her husband in the hunting-field will not experience the intense distress she would suffer by seeing him thrown and trampled on before her eyes, and the death of a loved one at a distance, *e.g.* in a foreign country, spares the relatives the added pain of seeing him in his last illness.

The process of arousing various ancillary direct emotions in order to suggest that a derived emotion which it is desired to create or strengthen, is really direct, has been used by dominating men since the beginning of civilisation, though usually without full appreciation by either side of the psychological principles involved, and we are only just beginning to realise the terrible power of this sinister force in the hands of the unscrupulous, particularly over the young who are nearer the period when emotion is the only guiding influence in life and who cannot adequately check their actions by experience.

Instances of creating an emotional impression by sensory stimuli in order to support the spoken word are afforded by religious services. The ear is stimulated by music and singing

in which the whole people join, the Deity is addressed in spoken prayer as though he were actually listening, and the priest intones or chants or otherwise modifies his voice as though in the presence of an awe-inspiring personage. The eye is stimulated by the ornate robes of the officiating clergy and the decoration of the church or temple. In some churches the sense of smell is stimulated by the burning of incense. At the same time steps are taken to suggest human form for the Deity as much as possible. Pictures and images of Him are scattered about the church which is His "house," and the personal aspect is further enhanced in the Christian faith by giving the Deity the title of "Father." In the Roman Catholic Church the "relics" of holy personages give added touches of realism, all these proceedings having the effect of suggesting the actual presence of the living God. We shall note a similar stimulation of eye and ear by pageantry and music or song in evoking the emotions of patriotism or loyalty.

Another aspect of the transfer of emotions may conveniently be noted here. Although factors such as degree of intelligence, education, etc., are important, the average person is emotionally to a material extent the result of his previous experiences. A man who has suffered severe or repeated injuries from his fellow-men is apt to have the emotion of resentment easily aroused in him, and then is spoken of as being embittered; on the other hand, a man who has had an easy path through life is usually pleasant and good-natured. We can trace the influence of this process on a large scale in the formation of certain national attitudes. Germany, for instance, was defeated and humiliated in the first world war and in consequence hatred against the conquerors was subsequently easily aroused among the German people and later conveyed to those unborn or very young at the time of the war. The British, on the other hand, suffered neither humiliation nor defeat and had the gratification of being triumphant; nor have they, as the French have, recollection of earlier defeat. Consequently their resentment against the former foe quickly disappeared, and almost from the cessation of hostilities their attitude was one of "forgive and forget"—an attitude largely responsible for the widespread manifestations of "pacifism" and the failure to re-arm in the face of foreign menace. The English, who have never suffered at the hands of the Irish, feel no resentment against that people, and they cannot understand the bitterness shown against them (collectively) in Eire which has had actual experience

of violence and bloodshed. To turn to another type of conflict, although the class struggle in this country is a very real thing, there is little ill-feeling between the classes owing to the fact that there has been no material degree of violence between them for several generations. On the other hand, in Russia, where the people had long been controlled by violence, class hatred was strong, and ruthless steps were taken against the governing class when opportunity arose. These may appear to be simple statements of well-known facts, but the psychological processes involved are often misunderstood. Where antagonisms formerly existing between groups or classes have disappeared, the explanation frequently given is that "old animosities have been forgotten." But this is erroneous; historical facts are not forgotten. To take an illustration from religious conflicts, we still inform children in schools of the burnings of Roman Catholics and Protestants in the reigns of Elizabeth and Mary, but the two sects in this country now live together in complete harmony because neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant has injured the other here within living memory. By contrast, Cromwell's violence in Ireland can still be made to play a material part in maintaining national hatred in that country since it has been continuously reanimated by later violence.

Another point of difference between derived and direct emotions is that in the genesis and propagation of a derived emotion a lower standard of morality is regarded as permissible than that which is expected to prevail where direct emotions are concerned. In the furtherance of a social, political or religious aim by an emotional appeal, men of integrity will permit themselves to distort arguments, suppress facts and knowingly utter perversions or exaggerations in a way they would not do in their individual relations with their fellow-men. Many charitable appeals, election addresses and demonstrations to evoke patriotism afford examples. Preachers in the course of religious services or addresses often make dogmatic statements, their disbelief in which they may not hesitate to show in conversation or in their published writings. The justifications usually given for these proceedings, such as "everybody knows it" or "it does no harm" or "it helps a good cause," are unsound, for they assume a universality of knowledge and a uniformity of outlook in the community which does not exist. Serious misapprehension may result from this abrogation of the highest standard of morality in mass appeals.

Derived emotions must necessarily be propagated to a large extent by the employment of symbols. Saluting the flag, singing the National Anthem, removing the hat in church, giving precedence to a title are all symbolic of a reality or an alleged reality behind them ; the Bishop's mitre, the Judge's robes, the Field-marshal's baton, the Speaker's or the Mayor's mace are symbolic adjuncts to a reality. These symbols or symbolic acts are all designed to create an emotional atmosphere for the furtherance of a purpose which claims ultimately to be based upon reason and experience and should logically be approved or opposed solely on grounds of reason. But in fact the symbol is often mistaken for the reality, and ill-feeling is aroused far more often by the non-observance of some symbolism than by any difference in the underlying reality. A man who failed to remove his hat during the singing of the National Anthem would probably have it knocked off, but his real offence is the opinions with which he is credited. He may be known to be a republican, but if he removes his hat he will not be assailed. Logically he should be allowed to wear his hat during the singing since this action does not interfere with anyone else, and those who resent his opinions should endeavour afterwards to show him by argument his error. Similarly a non-believer who wears his hat in church should be allowed to do so, and subsequently efforts should be made to convert him. It may be argued that such a one has no right to go into a church unless he conforms to the observances. This is, of course, true of a non-established church or the church of a group, the members of which are entitled to make any regulations they please, but the argument does not apply to a National Church to which everyone should have a right of entry whenever it is exercising a national function, which it does each time it prays for the Sovereign. It will, of course, be said that the act is an insult to the Deity, but the real insult, if there is one, is in the refusal to acknowledge the Deity. Jews, Moslems and atheists are all free to enter the Churches of the Establishment so long as they observe the conventions, but the man who would be highly indignant if they disregarded these, shows little concern to convert them to better ways of thinking.

In their individual transactions men are guided mainly by reason, but in mass activities they are more easily influenced by emotion, and every public speaker knows that an eloquent peroration will help him more than closely reasoned argument.

Herein lies danger. Where his direct emotions are involved a man is or should be able to judge the essential facts from his own experience and decide how he will react to them, but he must take the evidence for a derived emotion on trust. There is a principle of English law which, with certain exceptions, is rigidly observed, that hearsay evidence is inadmissible in a trial in court, presumably because the experience of centuries has shown that although the principle excludes some statements which would be helpful, it excludes more which are unreliable and would be harmful. But outside the law in their mass activities, men constantly fail to guard themselves against the dangers resulting from indiscriminate acceptance of statements made to them by others. Modern education does not encourage clear thinking, it tends more to inhibit independent thought in the interests of certain derived emotions, and in consequence men are credulous, illogical, and easily swayed by shibboleths and catchwords. Realisation of this weakness is the reason why judges when addressing juries impress upon them that they must arrive at their verdict strictly on the facts, and not allow themselves to be influenced by emotional considerations, however eloquent the appeals they may have heard from counsel. The jury in this matter are acting as the community in the interests of the community, and the law has recognised that those interests are best served if the jury are guided solely by reason. But where this judicial restraint is lacking, men make little attempt in their corporate actions to distinguish between what they know of their own experience or know they could verify for themselves, and what they are told by others, and as a result they are confused and ill-informed as to the source and nature of their emotions. Only by the application in their collective affairs of the cold, clear reasoning which governs the summing up and direction of the judge will men ever avoid being led into error by those who guide them, despite the fact that some of these leaders in their emotional appeals are acting with the best intentions.

CHAPTER III

THE CALL OF THE GROUP

"Mean men, in their rising, must adhere ; but great men that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction ; and it is often seen that a few that are stiff do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth."

Of Factions. Bacon.

ALTHOUGH it has no basis in a herd instinct, the tendency of men to act in groups is very strong and has far-reaching effects. It is important therefore to determine the psychological factors which lead to and control combined action.

Gregariousness is obviously a fundamental characteristic of man, just as much as is the fact that he is bipedal or warm-blooded, but there are no grounds for believing that his gregariousness by itself leads to any conduct other than his willingness to accept the contiguity of his fellow-men. Gregariousness is not a stimulus which leads to any instinctive action in the sense described earlier. The co-operative acts which men display on the foundation of their gregariousness, but not as the result of it, are the outcome of teaching, experience and intelligence. If men's conduct were determined by a herd instinct they would all think and behave alike, as do herd animals, but it is the infinite variety in men which differentiates them from animals and this is the result of environment. Wilfred Trotter, who, as we have seen, regarded a herd instinct as of supreme importance in man, says : "It can scarcely be regarded as an unmeaning accident that the dog, the horse, the ape, the elephant and man are all social animals." But if a meaning is to be attached to "social" other than simple gregariousness, none of these animals is social until it has been trained, man least of all. The faithfulest dog, the cleverest ape, the most intelligent elephant before training would have been indistinguishable from its fellows in its natural habitat. The relation between these two factors may perhaps be made clearer by a comparison with one of man's physiological needs. Man's constitution requires that his bodily temperature must be maintained at a nearly constant level whatever the temperature of his environment, and this constancy is effected chiefly by an internal,

heat-regulating centre, the existence of which is unknown to most persons who have not studied physiology. But man assists this natural process by going nearly naked in hot countries and dressing himself in fur in Arctic regions, and he does this not by instinct but because he has been taught in childhood how to adapt his clothing to the daily changes in temperature. If he were not so taught he would quickly learn to do it from experience. To make another comparison, the capacity to learn to speak is inborn, fundamental and common to the whole human species, but the language learned depends entirely upon the environment, even to the acquirement of a local accent.

The gregariousness of man is of quite a different character from that shown by other forms. An animal has no sense of identity with a herd ; it will accept its species wherever it finds it, and join any herd that is contiguous. Man, on the other hand, attached himself only to a *group* of his species, and he maintains his identity with the group, perhaps in the face of acute hostility from other groups. If we mix two flocks of sheep they become one flock, but if we mix a crowd of Englishmen and a crowd of Frenchmen they still remain English and French and can separate themselves at will unless forcibly prevented, and they could, if they wished, separate themselves according to other groupings they may have formed, *e.g.* into Roman Catholics and Protestants. If men actually had an instinct which, like the gregariousness of an animal, made them show the same behaviour to all individuals of the species, they would not need to be persuaded to that state of universal brotherhood which has been so long yet so vainly sought. The absence of such a type of gregariousness is conclusively shown by the fact of war, that is conflict between groups of the same species, which is an exclusively human institution. A group of dogs will attack each other indiscriminately, but a fight between two herds, each herd maintaining its identity, is unknown in the animal kingdom.

THE GROUP AND THE FAMILY

Various theories have been put forward to explain man's proclivity to live in communities, a favourite view being that it grew out of the family system. It is constantly asserted that the family, by which is usually meant the monogamous family, is instinctive and is the foundation of society, and its preservation is regarded as of the highest importance by the Churches and the

ruling authorities. Nevertheless there is no evidence for the existence of a family instinct in the human species. We can only guess at the form of man's social life in his remote beginnings, but it is probable that the earliest grouping was into small wandering hordes in which sex relations were either promiscuous or the stronger males appropriated most of the females. Any grouping comparable to the modern family obviously depends upon knowledge of the results of sexual intercourse and of the relation of the male to the offspring. Primitive man could not have known of the relation of copulation to parturition any more than animals can be aware of the consequences, many months later, of an act performed under a dominating urge which has no obvious relation to the production of offspring. We do not know at what stage in the development of Piltdown, Java or Neanderthal man, this knowledge was acquired, but it is said that there are still primitive tribes who are unaware of the connection between the two events. After the part played by impregnation had been realised, there would be a further stage before paternity was recognised—that is that the offspring was the result of an act by a particular man—and until this stage was reached no kind of family in the modern sense would be possible. If therefore the human family were based on instinct, it would be an instinct which appeared *after* man had reached a far higher degree of intelligence and social organisation than that shown by any animal, and this at a time when his intelligence was giving him a better means of survival and reducing his dependence upon instinct, a development which seems highly improbable. It is only in comparatively low forms, such as birds, that we find a recognisable, family instinct, and in these the breeding season is limited, the whole reproductive cycle is short, and there is a continuous chain of stimuli, very different from the long apparent interruption between conception and birth which occurs in the higher mammalia.

The monogamous family is almost certainly a late social development, originating in a desire to keep property or estates in a family. We have no reason to think that monogamy is instinctive in the human species, and we know that in all civilisations men whose wealth or power puts them in a position to defy social custom, have tended towards polygyny. Another point is that reproductive capacity ceases in the female about the age of forty-five, while in the male it continues to advanced years ;

hence monogamy means that the male, though still possessing full capacity, becomes functionally useless to the community as far as reproduction is concerned, as soon as his wife has ceased to be reproductive, a type an occurrence of which would be unusual in nature.

The existence of a *maternal* instinct, which apart from any teaching would prompt the female to protect her infant and put it to the breast, need not be questioned, for that is part and parcel of the mammalian character, and without it mammalian forms lower than man would not survive. But this is not a family instinct. It is true that we speak of a cat with her kittens as a "family," but there is no father with any concern or sense of responsibility for this family, and as soon as the kittens are physically mature they scatter, which is very different from what happens to the young of the human family. Since any maternal instinct in the human female is reinforced by social requirements which demand the same type of conduct, it is difficult to estimate the strength of such an instinct, but it cannot be very powerful for it has not at times prevented the extensive occurrence of infanticide. The regard that a modern father feels for his children is also a social development, acquired afresh by each individual, as is that of children for their parents, the process being identical with that which produces affection for a domesticated animal.

THE ORIGIN OF THE GROUP TENDENCY

The group as defined here is built on an emotional foundation, the essential character of which is a sense of community of interest and of loyalty between the members of the group. The most obvious instance of a group, though by no means the most perfect instance since it is more correctly an aggregate of groups, is the nation, but a group need not be geographically defined; the Jews form a group, and the group sentiment unites the members of a religious organisation. Without the emotional background the aggregate does not become a group of the type we are considering; the members of a learned society, for instance, do not form a group unless they deliberately introduce an emotional element into their activities by such proceedings as annual dinners, which are extraneous to their fundamental purpose; but those united by the sentiments arising from having been at school together do form a group.

For the origin of the group tendency we must look to the

ontogeny rather than to the phylogeny, that is to the history of the individual rather than to that of the race. The newly-born infant has no awareness of the difference between itself and its environment, and it learns to make the differentiation only quite gradually. In normal circumstances probably the person first recognised and separated from the surroundings is the mother or the nurse, and a little later the father comes into the picture. Thus the child early finds itself in a small group which controls it in every direction, and towards whom its dawning emotions of love, fear or hate are directed. By degrees other figures come into the circle, brothers, sisters, playmates. As the child grows, the group enlarges to take in friends, acquaintances, neighbours and other familiar figures, and towards each of these the child develops some type of emotion, usually one of friendliness and confidence, all of which are direct emotions. Gradually the conception of a personal community arises and the child talks of "our" street and "our" village, a possessive attitude which may be maintained indefinitely. Receptivity to the group idea having been established, other groupings are readily formed provided a friendly atmosphere is assured. The schoolboy identifies himself with his school, the undergraduate links himself with his university which at one time was spoken of as his *Alma Mater*, the soldier with his regiment, and the Freemason with his Lodge, all these ties being formed by direct emotions.

The emotion aroused in the members of a group contains elements of affection and respect, but loyalty to the group is the strongest sentiment. Personal interests must be sacrificed where necessary. The group has its special code of ethics, observances and customs, deviation from which is not permitted; nothing must be done to "let down" the old school or the regiment, or sully the family name. Political parties and religious sects demand the same loyalty, and a change of opinion is regarded as disgraceful, the man who changes becoming a "traitor to the party," or a "renegade," "turncoat," "backslider," "pervert," etc. We can trace the influence of the family sentiment in the sense of obligation of one member of a family to help another in a position of difficulty or distress in the interests of the group without other incentive, and even at times reluctantly, as when the debts of a "black sheep" of a family are paid, or some scandal is kept out of the newspapers, in order to save the family name. Anything which injures one member of the family is

regarded as injuring all, and equally anything which reflects glory on one member of the family adds lustre to all even though the source of glory was an ancestor, a belief which alone can explain the prestige attached to an inherited title. As an instance of the group influence in a matter in which it is entirely irrelevant the following utterance of Lord Baldwin may be quoted :—

“ When the call came to me to form a Government one of my first thoughts was that it should be a Government of which Harrow should not be ashamed. I remembered how in previous Governments there had been four or perhaps five Harrovians, and I determined to have six. To make a cabinet is like making a jig-saw puzzle fit, and I managed to make my six fit by keeping the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer for myself. I think we have good reason to be content. I will, with God’s help, do nothing in the course of an arduous and difficult career, which shall cause any Harrovian to say of me that I failed to live up to the highest ideals of the school.”¹

At times the group tendency may exercise an extremely powerful influence, preventing co-operation between men and promoting disintegration. We see this effect in religious sects nullifying all attempts to establish union between groups nominally of the same religion ; and we meet with it in political parties, particularly those of a “ left-wing ” character, who time after time fail to defeat their common opponent because the separate groups cannot act together. That stalwart member of the Independent Labour Party, Mr. Fenner Brockway, says of the Communist Party :—

“ They do not regard their organisation as an instrument to be used for the working-class ; they regard the working-class as an instrument to be used for their organisation. . . . They have no place for ethical considerations of fraternity, honour, truthfulness outside their own associates. . . . They will stop at nothing to achieve their purpose, even if their victims are fellow-members of the working-class.”²

In the Spanish civil war rival political parties were fighting each other in the streets of Barcelona while Franco’s armies were actually attacking the city ; dissonant loyalties contributed to the defeat of France by the Germans and delayed her rehabilitation, and bitter feuds divided the guerrilla forces both in Yugoslavia and

¹ *On England and Other Addresses*, 1926.

² *Inside the Left*, 1942.

Greece during the German occupation. In succeeding chapters we shall study the part constantly played by the group emotion in the larger spheres of patriotism, religion, and class consciousness.

The origin of the group emotion from immediate, personal experiences in childhood makes it a direct emotion as defined earlier, and it is important to notice the part played by personal experience in any attempt to create or extend a group emotion. The emotions felt towards the individuals in the original group of childhood, whether they be love or hate or any modification of these, are developed most strongly towards those with whom the personal association is closest and most frequent, and they fade off towards acquaintances and persons known merely by sight, who are on the periphery of the group. The parents are adored but Aunt Jane is hated and there is some jealousy of little sister Sally ; the butcher's boy is welcome but the baker's boy is feared ; we like the friendly smile of the cheerful old man who sells newspapers at the corner, but are rather in awe of the policeman. The influence of direct, personal association may constantly be seen in later manifestations of the group emotion. We read with distress an account in the newspapers of some big national disaster, the entombment of miners in a colliery for instance, and we follow for days with anxiety the efforts made to rescue the men. But our emotion is much more lively if we have a personal link with the locality, if we have lived and worked among the miners, or have spent a holiday on the rocky shore where the lifeboat crew has just been drowned. A similar accident in a foreign country, to men of another nation and language, arouses far less concern, unless again we are familiar with the neighbourhood and people ; and we read of a thousand coolies in India or China being swept away by a flood simply as an item of news. Every type of appeal on behalf of suffering people strives to arouse a personal touch. An appeal for hospital funds, based upon the logical argument that it is to the advantage of the community to treat the sick, would probably have little effect ; we must have our emotions aroused by pictures of kindly nurses bending over sick children. The red poppy of Flanders is used to stir poignant memories every anniversary of Armistice Day.

THE GENESIS OF GROUP HOSTILITY

So far we have considered the group as arising from, and animated by, benign emotions, but we have yet to explain the

tendency to intolerance among groups, their attitudes towards each other ranging from simple caution, through suspicion, distrust and dislike, to downright hostility. This, like the formation of the group itself, is due to early impressions. One who was never hurt in infancy and childhood would grow up in a world of universal friendliness and would not know what resentment means, but he would be a highly abnormal person, and would probably be classed as feeble-minded. We cannot escape being hurt, and earliest and most severely, albeit unwittingly, by those who have our welfare nearest to heart. The corrections and punishments which parents inflict on children early familiarise them with pain and anger, and anger in children may be very strong. As they grow older they may meet with hurts and rebuffs from their playmates, and they hear others talking of the dangers and terrors of the great world outside them. Thus the young child early develops a sense of caution, and its first reaction to a newcomer is almost invariably one of "Is he friend or foe." If it cannot settle this question at once, it begins to cry, and parents then say the child is frightened, though in fact there has been nothing at all at that time to frighten the child. Mothers seeing children fleeing to them for refuge from strangers are usually pleased and soothe and pet the child, thus encouraging the display. The attitude of distrust of strangers persists throughout life, and it is just in proportion to the extent that he is "known" that a newcomer is admitted to a group. In approaching a stranger in our daily avocations we always begin with some trite, self-evident statement about which there can be no difference of opinion, as a means of ascertaining his demeanour before committing ourselves further, and some persons speak much more politely to strangers than they do to members of their own families from whom they have no reason to apprehend danger. Ceremonies of initiation, baptismal rites, etc., all originate from the necessity of making sure that the person is safe to be admitted a member of the group.

Group hostility in childhood arises spontaneously, but a good deal is done later during adolescence to create and stimulate the conception of group hostility under a cloak of friendliness. We see this in the encouragement of sport in which the competitive element predominates. If we watch young children playing the games they originate for themselves, we rarely see a suggestion of team competition in them ; they are mostly imitative of the

actions of individuals or animals. The few traditional competitive games, e.g. "Oranges and Lemons" and "Nuts in May" are organised by the older children. Herein we have further evidence that co-operative action in the human species is not instinctive. Later, the children are taught competitive, team games and these are strongly encouraged in the schools. The early spontaneous games of childhood meet a physiological need for muscular activity ; and the simple enjoyment of a game for its immediate effects is seen in the group of players at a tennis party who divide themselves either deliberately so as to make the sides as equal as possible, or haphazardly by a toss of their rackets. But in educational establishments another motive quickly becomes apparent and that is the keen desire of each of the teams to triumph over the other. At school, the boy plays for the honour of his "House" or the honour of the school against its rivals, and special caps and blazers are awarded to the members of the teams ; at Universities men go into training for months before an important contest, and sacrifice various social amenities during that period, the winning of a "blue" or other University colours being regarded as a high honour. Games are compulsory in most of the public schools ; professionals are engaged to teach the boys to play, and those boys who are not playing in the school teams are expected to attend the matches and cheer their own side. This is very largely a recent development. If we look back at such a book as *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857) we shall realise what a long way we have travelled in the cult of school games, and, incidentally, in the limitation of the freedom of the schoolboy.

In the larger world, interest in sport has been sedulously cultivated. Organisations have been formed to govern the different sports ; newspapers devote much space to recording the results of matches ; football clubs pay large sums to secure the services of the best players, and masses of people identify themselves with one or other of the teams, wear their colours, travel long distances to see them play and are elated or chagrined according to the fortunes of their champion. Real bitterness may be aroused ; fights may occur between the rival teams, referees may be attacked and crowds may show their hostility by "barracking." The very use of the word "beat" in an athletic contest is notable. The original meaning of "to beat" is to "strike repeatedly," yet the word is now applied to actions from which in theory all elements of deliberate hurting have been excluded. The excep-

tional meaning attached to the word "good" in the phrase "a good sportsman" is also significant. These words do not connote one who excels at a particular sport—he may indeed be quite the reverse—but one who can be relied upon not to adopt illegitimate methods to win a game, and who will accept defeat without showing resentment, *i.e.*, will keep under control the real hostility he is assumed to possess. International athletic contests have led to ill-feeling which has sometimes ended in free fights; and proposals have even been made to terminate the Olympic games owing to the animosity they have engendered. So far from bringing nations together, these contests have tended to aggravate group intolerance among them.¹

Like the cult of school games, popular interest in sport is of comparatively recent date; County cricket, League football and international matches all began in the second half of the nineteenth century. In schools the cultivation of competitive sports has been encouraged as part of the process to meet the ever-increasing demand for "discipline" and "formation of character." In the general world organised games were stimulated by the practices of playing for high stakes and of betting on the result of a match, the latter practice still maintaining a vast amount of interest in horse racing, and there are now many large vested interests concerned in stimulating the popular interest. When we see how strongly the group spirit can be canalised into maintaining a competitive activity in a matter of so little intrinsic

¹ The war correspondent, Philip Jordan, writing of conditions in Vienna after four years of war, said:—"Trivial as it sounds, what has embittered Vienna more perhaps than almost any other evidence of the folly of German psychology is the fact that while all the best members of Vienna's vaunted football team were called up and are by now almost all killed, those attached to the leading German clubs have been exempted from military service to date." *News Chronicle*, 16 January, 1944.

The following earlier reports may also be quoted: "In an Italo-Yugoslav football match at Belgrade on Sunday, the Italians won by 2-1, having scored in the first half. When the Yugoslavs scored in the second the other side showed a distinctly aggressively anxiety to keep their lead. The home team reacted accordingly and the game soon became a fight; fisticuffs were exchanged amid the cheers and hisses of the crowd and there were repeated interruptions. The crowd grew restive when it suspected the Italians of deliberately feigning accidents in order to hold up play and prevent their hosts from having a chance to pick up. Afterwards the visitors were hissed, their omnibus was stoned, an Italian flag was torn to shreds, and to counterbalance it all the British Minister became the object of demonstrative ovations." *The Times*, 6 July, 1939.

"Wild excitement prevailed during the ice hockey match at Harringay last night in which Great Britain were beaten 3-0 by Canada in the World's Championship. The game was frequently interrupted by sections of the crowd of 11,000, who threw oranges, apples, programmes and newspapers on the ice. Order was only restored a few minutes before the end of the game when the band stood up and played 'God Save the King.'" *The Times*, 27 February, 1937.

importance as sport, we shall have no difficulty in realising the part it may be made to play in the hands of skilful men in arousing the emotions of patriotism, national aggression and religious or other antagonisms.

The group, though not formed instinctively, is the most natural unit of human collective activity. It would be impossible and undesirable to prevent the formation of groups, but the urge of many groups to increase their numbers and importance leads to aggressiveness ; and in particular we find groups striving to control or influence central governments in order to impose their views on their fellow-men. In the next chapter we shall study the origins of the emotions which are the mainsprings of human conduct, love and hate, and we shall then be in a position to understand why aggression and intolerance so much more frequently animate groups than does philanthropy.

CHAPTER IV

LOVE AND HATE AS DERIVED EMOTIONS

“ O purblind race of miserable men,
How many among us at this very hour
Do forge a life-long trouble for ourselves,
By taking true for false, or false for true ! ”

Tennyson.

Love, when it is the outcome of direct stimuli, is for most of us the determining emotion in life ; direct hate, on the other hand, plays a comparatively small part, since under modern conditions much of it is suppressed by the individual, and society permits only limited expression of that which is not suppressed. When these emotions are derived, the position is reversed, derived love playing only a small part in human affairs, while derived hate is an important factor in the causation of war and other mass human conflicts. These propositions will become clearer after we have studied the origin of the two fundamental emotions, love and hate.

Love grows out of the delight of the infant in pleasant sensations, a warm bath, the nipple in the mouth, etc. As intelligence dawns and the infant begins to distinguish between itself and its environment, it longs for the person, the mother, who brings it these joys or relieves it of any discomfort, that is, it loves her, though at first with an entirely selfish love. If any of these desires is not immediately gratified, anger is aroused against the mother, and every parent knows that a young child may display desperate rage when it is restrained or thwarted. Fear arises from anticipation of the repetition of a painful experience. The father, identified a little later than the mother, arouses the same emotions of love or resentment towards himself, and thereafter, as we have seen, the circle of awareness is gradually extended to take in brothers, sisters, friends and acquaintances, towards whom feelings of love, fear or hate may develop, the last sometimes much more strongly than adults are apt to realise. On these early foundations of simple love and hate are erected, as life proceeds, the more complex and diversified emotions which govern man's relations to his fellow-beings. The strength, form and direction these later emotions take depend to a large extent upon the early

environment. The main influences are the same for most infants, but the emotional details of the early surroundings vary widely, hence the great diversity of emotional make-up in adults.

The first emotions in the infant are aroused exclusively in relation to its sensory impressions ; but as the child grows, another influence comes into being—appeal to intelligence. The parents and other relations now begin to direct its emotions into specific channels. It is taught to love its brothers and sisters and uncles and aunts, and it probably strives to do this although it may in fact feel considerable antipathy towards some of them. But to display or even to feel anger or resentment against them is “naughty,” and it is at this stage that the process of repressing hate begins, a process which may have momentous effects in later years. Nevertheless the child gradually learns that feelings of dislike are at least sometimes permissible, it being told for instance that certain children in its circle are bad tempered or naughty and are therefore not lovable. Probably, too, it hears its parents and others discriminating between good and lovable persons, and bad and therefore unlovable persons. The monarch and his consort and family are good persons whom everybody should like ; the enemies of the country are bad persons.

At some stage in its career, in Christian countries, the child begins to receive instruction in religion and is taught to love God and to love Him very much. This is a momentous step, for the child is now required to form a mental conception of a Being to be loved solely from what it is told about that Being ; that is love of God becomes the first derived emotion. Up to this stage all the persons who have been the object of the child's love have been apprehended through the senses ; the familiar face, the gentle voice, the kindly touch or kiss have all contributed to make up the personality of the loved one. Now the child is exhorted to love a Being whom it can neither touch nor see nor hear, and it can do this only by visualising a benign elderly man, or a gentle Saviour with a child in His arms, or a mother with her infant at her breast, transferring to these images some of the love originally evoked by their earthly prototypes. Some children also form a conception of Satan as a real person, visualising him as a horned figure or perhaps a serpent with a human head.

As we have to consider the influence of derived love on human affairs, it should be noted that the process of transferring of love from one object to another is facilitated by the fact that the word

is used to express a number of emotions which are widely different. The primitive love of the infant is simply a longing for the loved one for the sake of immediate sensory gratification, but at a later date elements of gratitude, altruism, respect, etc., enter into the emotion. The strength and extent of these components vary towards different individuals, nevertheless a man will use the same word "love" to describe the conscious emotions he feels towards his mother, father, wife, sister, dog, or horse, yet these emotions are very far from being identical, and conduct appropriate towards one of these objects of love might be wholly abhorrent towards another. An extension of the process so as to embrace inanimate objects occurs early. Children "love" their dolls and games, and all classes speak of their love of articles of food, wine, pictures, books, natural scenery, old china, etc., and of occupations such as hunting or dancing. Finally we get an extension to purely abstract conceptions. "Love wisdom" says the sage; "love industry" urges the copy-book. Yet it is impossible to love an abstraction if we are to understand by the word "love" any feeling in the least comparable to that felt towards a beloved parent, spouse or child. However much we are exhorted to love goodness or truth or beauty we cannot do so. We can only love good or truthful persons. We cannot admire beauty, we can only admire a beautiful picture or landscape. We cannot enjoy "music," but only the expression of music.

The word "hate" has a similar wide range of meaning. Our strongest feelings of hatred are aroused against the person who, we believe, has injured us. Thereafter we extend it, often with equal verbal vehemence, to all manner of practices or inanimate objects. Some of us "hate" jazz music or depilated eyebrows, and we are all exhorted to hate the abstractions, greed, envy and cruelty.

In our ordinary daily intercourse, where real sentiments are quickly understood, the multi-meaning character of these words is not prejudicial, but when they are applied to abstractions with the intention of evoking emotional mass action, they may become misleading and dangerous. We see men in unison averring that they are ready to lay down their lives in defence of "freedom," yet their individual conceptions of that elusive condition vary within the widest limits, some of its most vociferous advocates being those already in privileged positions, to whom the word clearly means freedom to continue to restrict the freedom of their

fellow-men ; while others proclaim themselves to be " free " who have never known real freedom in their lives. Violent denunciations of " capitalism," " socialism," " communism," etc., are often very obviously expressions of an emotionalism resulting from a man's individual experiences and not a result of thought-out concern for the interests of the community. For this reason revolutionary movements often at first attract men who are more bent on destruction than construction, and in consequence the movement fails to receive consideration on its merits.

The Gospel precept " Love your enemies " demands a psychological impossibility. We can no more prevent ourselves feeling an emotion than we can prevent feelings of hunger ; we can control only the outward expression of emotions, and sometimes not even that. Religions have promulgated the ideal of universal brotherhood, though often in practice they have incited hatred against rival religions or fostered sectarian hostility. Philosophers and statesmen have given the same teaching. When the threatenings of the second world war began to gather round the European nations, many eminent men and women in this country supported a movement known as " Moral Rearmament " which preached that the only foundations of a world at peace were " honesty, faith and love." In a letter to *The Times* of September 10th, 1938, a number of members of Parliament belonging to all political parties, advised " our people " to re-dedicate themselves to the elementary virtues of " honesty, unselfishness and love, which many have allowed to take a secondary place." Lord Baldwin, in a speech to a " Youth Conference on Democracy," said : " A great leader of democracy . . . must realise that the real bond between us all is that brotherhood of man which has never been attained, bringing with it, as it must, the Fatherhood of God. That is the only force which can have in its power some day to break down the barriers between the nations. Nothing else will do it." ¹

Yet these efforts and aspirations failed to prevent the outbreak of the most pitiless war in history. The ideal of universal brotherhood based upon love is a dream and can never be anything else. Men never have loved their fellow-men in the mass, they cannot do so, and they never will do so. And we know now why this is. Love is an emotion of transcendent importance

¹ *The Times*, February 4th, 1939.

in individual affairs, and it exercises material influence within the group, but outside the group it becomes a derived emotion and is then subject to all the falsifications and limitations which we have seen attend this type of emotion. In ordinary circumstances our feelings towards even our own countrymen, in the absence of any personal relation, are entirely neutral : we neither love nor hate them. The Cornish fisherman is not concerned over the joys or sorrows of the Northumbrian miner ; the London cockney does not feel that the Welsh shepherd is his brother ; the large landowner, though he may be genuinely interested in the welfare of his own tenants, has no emotional leaning to agricultural labourers as a class. In times of industrial strife, ill-feeling between different groups may run very high. Only exceptionally are we sufficiently stirred by some national tragedy to give a subscription to a relief fund, and that emotion is usually evanescent. Even the death of a familiar figure, a king or queen who for years has been described as "beloved," whose death is said by the newspaper to have "plunged the whole country into grief," and whose funeral has moved some even to tears by the direct stimuli of the slow marching, the draped colours and the heart-tearing music, becomes in a few days merely an historic incident.

In a message to Congress in January, 1939, Mr. Roosevelt said : "During the eight years from 1931, many of our people clung to the hope that the innate decency of mankind would protect the unprepared who show their innate trust in mankind. We are wiser and sadder to-day." Some have still to learn this lesson, to learn that there is no "innate decency" in mankind and that the building of Utopia on a foundation of universal brotherhood is a fantasy. The world is so full of horrors that if we were really distressed by the sufferings of those known to us only by name, life would be unendurable. Men will never stop warring upon their fellow-men because of their love for them ; they will rid themselves of this scourge only when their intelligence has shown them its utter folly, wastefulness and harmfulness to both victor and vanquished. He would be a profound optimist who could look at the state of the world to-day and still place faith in a future built on universal philanthropy. The most we can hope for is a unity based upon mutual interest and co-operation, with no stronger emotional sanction than is expressed by the words "good will." These views will perhaps be more

readily admitted after a study of the psychology of human cruelty.

H O M O S A E V U S

Man's cruelty to man stands out as the most staring fact in his history. Ferocity to his fellows is shown in his earliest traces, and has culminated in the twentieth century after Christ in the greatest outburst of cruelty the world has ever seen.

A few years ago Professor Dorothy Garrod discovered in a cave on Mount Carmel a number of human skeletons at least a hundred thousand years old. In one of these skeletons there was a cavity in the femur and hip-bone, a cast of which showed that it could only have been made by a four-sided spear. Thus in the relics of his earliest social relations we find man killing his fellow-men. Man's oldest remaining monuments in Europe are earthworks, sometimes of gigantic size, as that of Maiden Castle in Dorsetshire, which could have had one purpose only, that of defending man against the most deadly of his enemies, man. In the City of Ur, in 1928, Sir Leonard Woolley discovered in the tomb of King A-bar-gi, who died about 3,500 B.C., the skeletons of 76 soldiers, attendants and women who had been slain in the obsequies of their dead master. Evidence of wholesale slaughter is present throughout the ancient world. The monuments of the Assyrians, Babylonians and Egyptians are crowded with representations of battles and the execution of captives. In later history there has not been a country in which at some period or other men have not shown their readiness to slay their fellows, sometimes exterminating whole communities of men, women and children. The gladiatorial games of ancient Rome, which took place in every important town throughout the Empire for several centuries, were held solely for the enjoyment of the spectacle. In these terrible contests the blood-lust of the populace often demanded the life even of the victor ; women fought with women ; and men, women and children were torn to pieces by wild animals. Their cessation was due to Christian influence, but that influence was not exerted from solicitude for the victims, but because the shows were Pagan and because they gave pleasure to the spectators, the latter motive being itself evidence of a sadistic outlook. Tertullian, at the end of a ferocious diatribe against the shows, joyously anticipates seeing the charioteers and the wrestlers writhing in the flames of hell. At a later date the

ceremonial burning of heretics by the Holy Inquisition was in many respects comparable to the Roman games, a public spectacle gratifying the sadism of the masses under the thin pretence that it was acceptable to God. Torquemada alone is believed to have burned 10,000 persons.

We need not for the present purpose do more than recall the many other well-known instances of man's cruelty to man, the persecution of the Jews, the burning of witches throughout Europe and America, the horrors of the slave-trade, the ferocity of the older criminal codes, the flogging of soldiers and sailors, a terrible yet far from complete list. But it is important to notice that the pleasure of seeing another injured or killed is still only thinly repressed in many persons. Up to 1868, executions took place in public in this country and vast crowds used to gather to watch the ceremony. We cannot attend an execution to-day, but the possibility of seeing a human being killed is the real attraction in many dangerous performances. Walking a tight-rope at a height of a foot from the ground would arouse no interest. Indeed in the advertisements of dangerous performances special attention is called to the element of risk as in a form of motor-cycling at a steep angle which was described as "riding the wall of death." This attitude is strongly displayed in the pleasure derived from witnessing prize-fights. Of all sporting contests, boxing arouses the greatest interest and excitement. The progress of a big fight in England or America is now followed round by round on the wireless by vast numbers who listen eagerly to the description of "jabs" and "punches," while the spectators at such contests may be aroused to a pitch of excitement, which shows that gladiatorial ferocity in them is only just beneath the surface. We should note that the group spirit, so prominent in other forms of sport, is usually not marked in these contests, spectators enjoying the fight without strongly identifying themselves with either of the combatants.

Another grim aspect of man's cruelty is his liability to ill-treat his offspring, a tendency which markedly differentiates him from other animals. At all periods of history a proportion of parents have shown great cruelty towards their children. In the ancient world, infanticide and the abandoning of infants were practised on a gigantic scale. In the succeeding centuries concern for children, other than solicitude for the safety of their souls, was of slow growth. Up to the nineteenth century children were

everywhere set to work at as early an age as possible, and the accounts of child-life in the mines and factories of earlier industrial England show how ruthlessly employers exploited them in the interests of moneymaking. A long succession of measures was necessary in order to secure their protection, even to some extent against the practices of their parents. The records of the Coroners' Courts show that up to late in the nineteenth century murder of infants for the sake of insurance money was not rare, the practice being stopped only by forbidding by law the insurance of infant lives. Even to-day we frequently read in the newspapers of gross brutality or neglect shown by parents towards their children, and those familiar with the circumstances and conditions are well aware that these outrages would be far more frequent were it not for the restraints of the law and the constant vigilance of philanthropic societies. Frequent and ferocious thrashing of children by parents and schoolmasters was looked upon as an essential part of education until recent times. To-day children, the weakest, most helpless and most uninstructed part of the population, are the only social group, other than criminals, which the law allows to be struck with impunity, and magistrates often encourage parents to follow this stupid and harmful practice. The inconsistency which may be shown by the human mind when swayed by emotion is illustrated by the fact that cruelty to children may be quite compatible with sincere regard for them. The contrition of the Rector of Cranford after he had driven Peter away by a violent flogging is a very true picture. It is a matter of observation that some mothers of the less educated class will reprove their children with a ferocity of language quite incongruous with their real attitude towards them.

Yet another outlet for man's urge to cruelty is afforded by ill-treatment of animals. The almost unbelievable cruelties which were practised on animals in past centuries are no longer permitted, but many persons can still derive pleasure from hunting foxes or killing game.¹ Fox-hunting is sometimes said

¹ Writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries mention quite casually practices which to-day seem revolting. Evelyn describes the filling of an effigy of the Pope, which was to be burned, with live cats so that the figure would appear to shriek when the flames reached them. Nicholas Cox, writing in 1674, says that young hounds may be trained by letting them hunt a hare one of whose feet has been cut off, and that the terriers are trained to hunt by setting them on to the fox or badger whose teeth have been broken off or lower jaw cut away. William Andrews (*Old Church Lore*) describes an entertainment in the middle of the eighteenth century which consisted of taking an ass to the top of a church tower and then letting it slide down to the ground on a rope with leaden weights attached to its feet.

to be beneficial to farmers and to encourage horse-breeding, but the practice of "blooding" children on the hunting field, *i.e.* smearing the face of the child with blood from a fox's tail, does not seem conducive to either of these ends.

CRUELTY A PURELY HUMAN CHARACTER

It is essential to understand the nature of the cruelty in the human species before there can be hope of controlling it. Man having descended from less-developed forms is credited with a twofold nature. He is assigned a primitive "animal" basis derived from his remote predecessors, and a "higher" nature which animals do not possess, or possess only in a very rudimentary state. As a general principle this may be accepted, but when we come to examine what qualities men assign to their animal side and what to the higher side we find much that is illogical and inconsistent. We find that they tend to ascribe to their humble origin any qualities which they do not like or which they have been taught in childhood have something undesirable about them, while they derive their virtues from a higher source, whether it be an anthropomorphic Deity or "the eternal not ourselves which makes for righteousness." Hence cruelty, hate and rage are described as brutal, *i.e.*, characteristic of the brutes, while love, courage, self-sacrifice and fidelity are the higher attributes which bring men in touch with God.

But this facile and flattering division of man's qualities by himself is not sound. We cannot assign all our vices to an animal origin and claim the virtues as specifically human. We regard courage and self-sacrifice as among the noblest of human virtues, and the decoration given for bravery in the field of battle is the most coveted, yet courage is constantly shown by animals. A dog will lose his life in defence of his master, and the female of many species will fight to the death in defence of her young. Fidelity and signs of affection are shown by many domesticated animals, and it is because of these very qualities that they become our "friends." Man claims that he alone has a religious sense, yet a young, partly-trained dog which has committed a fault, will exhibit a sense of guilt and an attitude of prostration before its master closely akin to those men are taught to display towards their God.

Among our vices cruelty is unhesitatingly ascribed to an animal origin, and the greater the cruelty the more likely is it to be

described as "brutal." *Yet cruelty is a purely human attribute.* Primarily, cruelty means the deliberate infliction of pain on another, sentient organism, knowing that that organism feels the pain, and we cannot credit animals with sufficient intelligence to be cruel in this sense ; we can apply the word to them only metaphorically, just as we do when we speak of "cruel" circumstances. Conduct in animals is almost entirely automatic or instinctive, in response to direct stimuli, and we cannot suppose that the tiger crushing its prey knows that it is causing pain, or that it is capable of appreciating an abstraction such as capacity to feel pain ; it knows pain only as a sensation it feels itself. It is true that there is in nature a great deal of pain which seems to be inflicted gratuitously, as when an otter takes a bite out of many more salmon than it needs for its food, or a wolf worries a whole flock of sheep, but these acts are simply instinctive responses to repeated stimuli. Moreover, animals only attack others under the hunger or sex urge ; there is no animal which tortures its own kind for the pleasure of seeing that torture, and there is no animal which makes war upon its own kind in the way men do. Man invented the Bad God, the Spirit of Evil, and when he describes cruelty as "satanic," or "devilish" or "fiendish" he uses appropriate epithets, but when he calls it "brutal" he does an injustice to the animal kingdom. The use of this adjective represents an effort to shed responsibility. The Israelites drove the scapegoat into the wilderness ; we strive to impose our sins upon the whole animal creation.

It has been necessary to emphasise the essential humanness of this ugly side of man's nature because paradoxical as it may sound, the more cruelty is recognised as a specifically human attribute, the greater is the likelihood that its manifestations will eventually be controlled. William McDougall and other psychologists have asserted that there is an "instinct of pugnacity" in man which leads him to attack his fellow-creatures. If this were true, the outlook for the future would indeed be hopeless, but the study of instinct made earlier in this book shows that such a view is without foundation. The point will be further examined when considering the causes of war.

THE SCANTINESS OF MASS PHILANTHROPY

While there is abundant evidence of man's cruelty to man, there are few instances of mass philanthropy beyond the transient

impulses already noted, and most altruistic movements have resulted from the efforts of individuals, frequently against strong opposition from the masses who have accepted change only under compulsion or with payment of compensation. The abolition of the slave-trade is usually the first thing mentioned when evidence of man's concern for masses of his fellow-men is asked for, but it must be remembered that this was effected only quite recently in social history. Slavery was practised throughout the ancient world ; there is no condemnation of it in the New Testament, and the slave-trade was carried on by European peoples up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. As late as 1830, Gladstone's father vigorously defended slavery, and a few years later he received £75,000. compensation for freeing his slaves in the West Indies. Slavery was not abolished in U.S.A. until 1865, and in Russia a condition of serfdom, scarcely distinguishable from slavery, prevailed until 1863. Although technically slavery does not now exist, natives are working for white men in many parts of the globe under conditions which no white man would tolerate.

The Factory Acts were passed in the teeth of opposition ; hospitals and charities are with few exceptions of recent or relatively recent origin, and nearly all have been initiated by individuals. The fact that large numbers of persons subscribe to charitable institutions is not evidence of a profound tendency to be distressed for others, for these donations have constantly to be stimulated by some set-off such as a ticket for a dance. The buying of emblems in the street on "flag-days" may be prompted by the desire not to be differentiated from the crowd, and there are powerful vested interests in the so-called voluntary hospitals much concerned to maintain the flow of subscriptions. Even with the philanthropic acts of individuals the cynic may notice that donors of gifts to the public from cots to colleges are apt to link their names with the benefactions, and public generosity has been known to be followed by the conferment of a title.

Most of the steps which have had the effect of relieving men of burdens or improving their lot, have been the outcome of increased knowledge and intelligence, and have been motivated less by solicitude for human welfare than by self-interest in which commercial enterprise, personal ambition and love of scientific investigation have all played parts. Men did not cease to burn witches out of pity but because they learned that their fear of witches was

groundless. Most of the Churches have ceased to threaten people with the flames of Hell, so prominent a terror in earlier centuries, because both they and the people have lost their belief in Hell. Institutions for the poor were first established because vagrancy was found to be a danger and a nuisance to the community ; the insane were first placed in "madhouses" not for their own benefit, for they were often treated with great cruelty, but because of their danger to others. Provision for the medical care of the sick has only recently become a concern of States, except for the segregations of those suffering from infectious disease who were a menace to the community, and in earlier centuries lepers were simply driven away from habitations. Even to-day it is only for dangerous infectious diseases that complete State provision exists. Native races, while suffering in some directions from the influence of the white man, have benefited enormously from his knowledge in others. But the white man did not wipe out yellow fever from Panama, nor irrigate the Nile Valley, nor bring salvarsan to the Sudan, nor teach the people of the east to grow rubber for love of the natives. He did all these things because they brought him trade or fitted countries for him to live in.

THE PREPONDERANCE OF HATRED

Mass animosity has been a far more potent influence in world affairs than has mass altruism, or, to use the words of Mr. Quintin Hogg, M.P., "the instinct to quarrel seems generally to get the better of the instinct to agree." It is important therefore to study the reasons why derived hatred can be so much more easily aroused than derived love. As we have seen, hate begins in early infancy owing to frustration of primitive urges and it is quite impossible, even if it were desirable, to prevent this emotion from arising. What is done, however, is to check the manifestations of hatred, and from an early age the child is admonished, reproved or punished for displaying resentment at any of the frustrations to which it is obliged to submit. In consequence, a process of repression of hatred begins which is not demanded in any way towards the opposite emotion of love. Passions in the human infant are developed in strength long before it has sufficient intelligence to understand and control them, and as a result there is an element of suppressed hatred in everyone who has had the usual early environment of modern civilisation, though the intensity of the hatred and the extent to which it is suppressed

vary widely in different individuals. It is the subconscious desire to express hatred by the infliction of cruelty on others, or by seeing cruelty inflicted, which enables us to derive pleasure from seeing tragedy on the stage or in pictures, or reading of it in books, and the element of cruelty is an obvious feature in religious doctrine and symbolism. If men did not possess this attribute, Othello, the Laocoon group and the figure of the crucified Saviour would lose all emotional significance, and it is gratification of their suppressed urge to be cruel which makes children enjoy "Punch and Judy." When, in abnormal individuals, the urge to be cruel is inadequately suppressed and leads to crimes of violence solely for the pleasure of the violence, it is termed *sadism*, though recent usage has rather extended the scope of that word. Sadism is believed by some to be the fundamental cause of war, but we shall see that that is an incorrect view resulting from confusion between war and battle.

In ordinary circumstances it is easier to find an object for the expression of love than one for hatred. Most people have sufficient opportunity for love in their personal circle, and some can expend their emotion on an animal, or find an outlet in taking part in religious or altruistic movements. But an object of hatred is rarely so ready to hand, remembering that the object must be one, hatred of which does not too far defy intelligence. If it is allowed to do this we have one form of "persecution mania." There is always a body of persons in the community whose suppression of hate is inadequate and who, in consequence, are apt to use very violent language against "capitalist robbers," Jews, etc., or persons prominently associated with some disliked aggregate. The Pope in earlier centuries, Bonaparte, Gladstone "the murderer of Gordon," Kruger and the last Kaiser all formed convenient objects of hate of this type. Blood-sports and hunting may provide an outlet since the killing of birds and animals for pleasure is sanctioned by a sufficient proportion of the community to prevent any feeling of wrongdoing arising in the mind of the killer. But cruelty to man provides the ideal outlet. We have already noted the intense excitement aroused by prize-fighting, and hand-to-hand combat in battle gives another opportunity. Sadism, though originating in infancy, can be stimulated and developed later, and it was one of Hitler's strokes of genius to give the German youth the Jews as objects of hatred in their military training.

THE UNIQUENESS OF HUMAN REASON

The real dividing line between man and other animals is not the possession of a soul but the possession of capacity to reason. Man does not become man because he possesses a religious or a moral code, for, as with cruelty, neither of these is fundamental and both must have been preceded by intelligence and reasoning power. Man owes his predominating position in the animal kingdom and his capacity to adapt himself to every type of climatic and geographical conditions throughout the world to his power of forecasting and making provision for the future. Every step in his upward progress from his rude forefather who roamed the forests in the stone age has been achieved by the utilisation of knowledge slowly and laboriously collected. The men who invented the wheel and the kiln and who discovered how to save seed from one year and grow crops from it the next, made settlement in communities possible, and not until then could organised religions and churches arise. This view is not invalidated by the fact that man in his ignorance has used his reason faultily by making terrible engines for his own destruction, or in his fear found good and evil spirits in nature and propitiated them both by making sacrifices to them, for these evils have almost always resulted from his allowing his emotions to govern his reason. Man's intelligence is his birthright, and whenever he lets his emotions exclude reason from control of his conduct, he sacrifices the very character which gives him his uniqueness and does then place himself on the level of the brutes. The word "inhumanity" should be applied not to cruelty but to failure to use intelligence.

The two principles described in the preceding chapters, the influence of the group and the formation of derived from direct emotions, constantly co-operate with each other in social affairs, and we are now in a position to study their application to some of the major causes of conflict between men.

CHAPTER V

NATIONALISM

“ There is not a nation in Europe but labours
To toady itself and to humbug its neighbours—”
Ingoldsby Legends.

THE dominating fact of social life to-day is the division of men into nations. In peace the boundaries of nations profoundly affect their economic interests, while anticipation of war leads every nation to devote a material part of its energy and wealth to military preparations ; in war, women and children lose their lives as well as men, and cities and lands are devastated. Yet there is no biological foundation for this type of division of mankind. It is an exclusively social development, and no definition of a nation can be given other than one in terms of arbitrary boundaries, often with little or no relation to geophysical features. There are nations containing groups of people speaking different languages, and there are groups of people speaking the same language who constitute different nations. Religion, degree of culture and form of government vary from nation to nation and often within the subdivisions of a nation itself. The only universally applicable definition of a nation which can be given is that it consists of an aggregate of persons whose rulers claim sovereign rights over a defined area of territory. Since it is now generally admitted that without some sacrifice of sovereignty by nations there is little hope of terminating war between them, it becomes of importance to determine the ultimate sanction for these unnatural divisions and the strength of the forces by which they are maintained.

THE ORIGIN OF NATIONS

The conception of nationality as involving relation to a defined area of ground is comparatively modern. It could not have arisen even in the most limited form until men were passing from the wandering tribal stage and beginning to settle in communities ; and claims over the larger extensions of territory we call countries could not have come into existence until a much later date when men had learned to define and record boundaries and the elements of cartography had been recognised. The peoples

of antiquity usually identified themselves with the boundaries they were familiar with, those of their cities, and called themselves "Athenians," "Spartans," Romans, etc. Nationality attached to a people rather than to a locality, and when the people spread they took their nationality with them. "Hellas," which we are apt to identify with the modern territory of Greece, was originally a small town in Thessaly, but the people spread and established colonies all along the shores of the Mediterranean, and wherever they went they called themselves "Hellenes," a name which eventually came to mean a people possessing a certain type of culture wherever they might be. Similarly the Carthaginians were Phoenicians though they were a very long way from Phœnicia. The Jews of to-day still speak of themselves as a nation though they are scattered over the whole world. Cæsar describes "Gallia," "Britannia," "Germania," etc., but always speaks of those he fought against by the name of their tribes such as the "Alemanni," the "Iceni" and the "Nervii." We see a revival of this early tribal type of nationality in the title "King of the Belgians" instead of "King of Belgium." It is true that from time to time many separate peoples have been ruled by one power, but these were held together by conquest. The Roman Empire at its height dominated almost all the known world, but it was not comparable to a modern Empire for there was no national consciousness or general sense of allegiance among the constituent countries; there could not have been any feeling of unity among them, such as links the members of the British Empire together, until a much higher degree of social development had been attained. Even as late as the eleventh century, England, though nominally a united country, was in fact "not much more than a federation of tribal communities for the purpose of mutual defence."¹ There was clearly little sense of nationalism or patriotism among the people as we understand these words to-day, for we cannot otherwise explain the small resistance offered to the Norman invasion when, after only one battle, "Earls, Thegns, Bishops, Sheriffs, Boroughs thought only of making their private peace with the Conqueror," and rapidly accepted an alien ruler with an alien language.² The Holy Roman Empire presents us on the map with a vast area of central Europe apparently under unified control, but in fact it was a

¹ *England under the Normans and Angevins.* H. W. C. Davis.

² *History of England.* G. M. Trevelyan.

loose federation of states, united only by an ecclesiastical bond, and often indeed at war with each other.

CONFUSION BETWEEN NATION AND RACE

As knowledge increased, and as communities became more settled and boundaries defined, a belief arose that groups of people who showed distinctive characteristics were inherently different from each other in some way, and in the sixteenth century the word *race* came into use as meaning a group of people believed to have common ancestry and to possess characteristics which marked them off from other races equally believed to be so descended. Race was then quickly identified with nation, giving us the "English race" the "French race," etc., an identification which has been a source of confusion and harm to mankind ever since, for the error is still widely prevalent. In the nineteenth century, with the growth of the science of philology, another conception of race arose to add to the confusion, this being the belief that kinship existed between groups of persons whose languages were found to be related, thus creating the "Teutonic race," the "Celtic race" and others. This linguistic classification was equally without biological foundation, but we still hear such descriptions as "the Celtic temperament" and "Latin vivacity."

The most recent classification of the European peoples is based upon the configuration of the head and the colour of the eyes and hair, giving us Nordics mainly in the north, Mediterraneans mainly in the south, and Alpines occupying a wedge-shaped area between them with its base in Eastern Europe and its apex in France. This classification has some degree of validity, but it is admittedly tentative, incomplete and overlapping. It has been conclusively shown, however, by many writers that these big divisions have no relation to the boundaries of nations, individuals of all three groups being found in all European countries though in widely different proportions. Nevertheless the classification has served as a basis for the most fantastic claims. On it Hitler has built up his identification of the Germans with a superior Nordic race, though in fact the bulk of the Germans do not fall within the Nordic group, and his claim is as baseless as is that for a superior "Aryan" race in which he uses a word applying only to a group of languages.

Racial identity is supposed to depend upon some quality in

the blood, hence the term "blood-brothers," though physiologists have no more discovered these qualities than they have the "blue blood" of the aristocrat. Curiously enough, however, modern research has found that there are differences in the blood of individuals constituting differences between them so profound that if the blood of an individual of one type is injected into a person of another type, the effect on the latter may be highly dangerous and even fatal. Study of transfusion of blood for medical purposes has shown that men are divided into four main groups and transfusion is only safe between those of the same group. The four types occur in widely different proportions in all countries, but when the distribution is mapped it shows no correspondence with any other divisions of humanity. These blood differences are more fundamental than any racial characters yet recognised, but at present most individuals, though they may know the general principle, are unaware of their own group. If ever such knowledge did become universal, mankind would be given yet another type of division over which to fight, and we might see the different groups organising themselves in furious hostility against each other, each probably claiming to be "superior." Such a type of conflict would be no more illogical than many of those which occur to-day. Indeed it would be less so, for while a man can usually change his nationality, fealty and religion, he can never change his blood-group.

Our knowledge of the differences between the larger and more obvious divisions of mankind, the white, yellow and black peoples is still incomplete and inexact, but we have no reason to believe that these differences are more than superficial. We need not, however, consider them here, for these larger groups have shown little consciousness of themselves as a whole, although locally each has oppressed other groups when it has had the opportunity. It may be that in the future our descendants will see in colour differences opportunities for mass conflict, but it is more probable that in some areas of the world at least, the coloured peoples will eventually replace or absorb the white by their superior fecundity rather than by force of arms.

It has been shown over and over again that the word "race" has no meaning when applied to the nations of Europe, and that fundamentally the peoples of the nations of Europe are identical at birth, save for the varying proportions in each country of the three main types described above which, as we have seen, have

no relation to national divisions. National characteristics are imposed afresh on each generation by education and environment, they are *epigenetic*, to use a term employed by Sir Chalmers Mitchell as long ago as 1915, and are no more inherited than is a man's language or religion which, until he exercises independent thought, is always that of his parents or of the country in which he was born.

Statesmen and representatives who are handling the foreign affairs of a country are constantly called upon to exercise their judgment as to how peoples will react to certain proposals or measures, and if they hold erroneous beliefs on racial influences, national characters, instinct, etc., their conclusions are the less likely to be sound. Ethnology is the study of people in groups, and it might have been supposed that knowledge of this subject was of first importance in those concerned with foreign affairs, yet British statesmen both in their public utterances and writings have often shown themselves singularly ill-informed on these questions, and have made generalisations which have clearly influenced their views and actions but would not be accepted by ethnologists. Here for instance is Lord Baldwin's conception of the English "race" :—

"They [the Scandinavians] fought: they settled: and their sea-sense and love of adventure was their lasting contribution to that strange amalgam that became the English race. You see one of the great flowering times of these characteristics in the Elizabethan age, in the secular war with France, and in our own time in the Great War. . . . The welding of Saxon, Norseman, Norman and whatever blood had mixed with that of the conquerors began under the Norman kings and in the process of centuries the Englishman emerged, a type as distinctive as unmistakable as the Frenchman, the Italian or the Spaniard. . . . But you cannot begin to understand the Englishman until you realise the impression left on him generation after generation by the English Bible. I am not sure that this is not the cause of the peculiar outlook of our people and the failure of foreign countries to understand us; perhaps also an explanation of those charges of hypocrisy and perfidy that have so constantly been brought against us."¹

The groups of peoples which Lord Baldwin considers made the English race also contributed largely to the German people,

¹ *An Interpreter of England*, 1939.

particularly the north Germans, but Lord Baldwin does not indicate whether he regards these as a race or distinctive type. It may be inferred that he accepts the Lamarkian theory of heredity, and in noting his view as to the unfortunate effect the Englishman's study of the Bible has had on his foreign relations, one wonders whether it is an equally lamentable effect of the study of the Lutheran Bible in Germany, or of the Martini Bible in Italy, which produced the peculiar outlooks in those countries, and our failure to understand their peoples.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, in a speech in the House of Commons on July 10th, 1939, said :—

“Racially Danzig is almost wholly a German city.”

This assertion is an admission that there is such a thing as a German race, and its tendency was to justify Hitler's claim to Danzig.

Sir Neville Henderson, who played an important part as ambassador to Berlin from May, 1937, to September, 1939, appears to have accepted more than one Nordic race. In his official report he says :—

“He [Hitler] assiduously courted Great Britain, both as representing the aristocracy and most successful of the Nordic races.”

And in an article in 1940 in the Press he said :—

“The German who has a highly developed herd instinct is perfectly happy when he is wearing a uniform, marching in step and singing in chorus, and the Nazi revolution has certainly known how to appeal to these instincts.”

In this quotation we see either the use of ill-informed and misleading phraseology, or a belief that the German is in some way innately different from other Europeans.

Lord Londonderry, who was a member of the British Cabinet from 1931 to 1935, visited Germany in 1936 and 1937. As he had much sympathy with the rulers of that country, believing that “the treatment of Germany since the Great War deserves the severest criticism and is responsible to a very large extent for the present unhappy situation,” his attitude was likely to have considerable influence on Hitler and Goering from whom he received hospitality. In his book, *Ourselves and Germany* (1938) he says : “There are many points of similarity between our two

countries, and there is a racial connection which in itself establishes a primary friendly feeling between us which cannot be said to exist between us and the French."

There is, however, no evidence of a "primary friendly feeling" towards Germany based on a racial connection, and history has shown many times that a racial connection has little effect in establishing friendly feelings between peoples. Moreover the statement that there is a racial connection is itself incorrect so far as an exact meaning can be given to these words. We have seen that the only groupings of the European peoples to which the word "race" can be broadly applied are the three main divisions based upon certain dimensions of the skull, colour of the skin and hair, etc., and on this classification the English and the French peoples are definitely more akin to each other than either is to the German people. The round-headed or Alpine type is in small proportion in England, and not very frequent in France, but it is the predominating type in central and southern Germany, a fact which links the people more closely with the Poles and the Slav-speaking peoples than with their western neighbours.

Confusion between race and nation has been a cause of measureless dissension. Much of the unhappy Treaty of Versailles was based upon the erroneous belief that the boundaries of the new countries then established coincided as closely as possible with racial divisions and it was this fundamental error which more than anything else was responsible for the second World War after twenty years of illusory peace. In deference to the racial myth, the slow evolutionary process of unifying the human species was reversed, the claims of excessive nationalism received an apparent justification, and untold misery was in consequence inflicted upon the peoples concerned. One of the most desirable steps that could be taken in all countries would be to teach all children the principles of ethnology, and the essential unity of the whole human race, instead of, as is so often done, teaching them the reverse.

THE INFLUENCE OF LANGUAGE

Most of the characteristics which are popularly regarded as constituting national differences are obviously superficial acquirements, such as gestures, habits, manner of speech, and even ways of dressing the hair and beard. The most striking difference

between groups of men in different areas is difference of language, yet language has no relation to nationality. We have nations comprising peoples speaking different languages, and we have people speaking the same language forming different nations between whom some of the bloodiest wars in history have been fought. The French-speaking people of Canada do not regard themselves as any the less Canadians because of their speech ; and we are not one nation with the people of U.S.A. because we speak the same language. The bulk of the people in South America speak Spanish, but they are of diverse origins, constitute many nationalities, and certainly do not regard themselves as Spanish. The Swiss are a nation without a national language, and they are none the less patriotic Swiss because they speak French, German or Italian. The negroes of the West Indies, are of common origin, but they speak English, French and Spanish. Language is merely the vehicle of expression, and in itself is of no significance. It is the thought underlying the language which is of importance. The relation between the two is no closer than that of the stone to the inscription or the paper to the message it bears. The fundamental means of human communication is world-wide, and men can everywhere make their attitude to each other understood, and indicate their essential needs and wishes, even if they have not a word in common. Emotion over the use of a particular language does not arise unless it is deliberately fostered for some ulterior purpose, *i.e.* it is a derived emotion. To the best of my belief difference of language has never spontaneously given rise to hostility between peoples, though insistence by a ruler upon the use of a particular language or the prescribing of a language has caused serious hardship and constituted a real grievance. There are, of course, many instances where such action has been taken with a view to stimulating a sense of patriotism, and has created a new source of complaint. The use of English in courts of law and official documents in Ireland was not a grievance until the advent of de Valera, when, as part of his efforts to stimulate Irish patriotism, the name of that part of the island which he controlled was changed, all officials were required to learn Erse, often at great inconvenience to themselves, while children had to be taught the language in schools, to the serious detriment of education and Irish scholarship, as teachers, university professors and members of the Dail itself have admitted. So far from this being a spon-

taneous popular move, the obligation has been strongly resented by many persons. Another instance of the extent to which emotion may prevail over reason in the use of language, was provided a few years ago by certain Welsh University lecturers who, having set fire to an aerodrome "in obedience to a passionate patriotism which sought to conserve and develop all that is noblest in the life of Wales," as the Bishop of Llandaff said in their defence, refused, when charged with arson in an English court, to plead except in Welsh, though they were perfectly capable of speaking English.

It may be argued that proceedings of this type have a symbolic significance, but let us remember that words, apart from their meanings, are simply sounds or marks. How little symbolic importance attached to the kind of language used is shown by the fact that Britain fought the French throughout the Napoleonic wars with the mottoes "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*" and "*Dieu et Mon Droit*" inscribed on the Royal banner, and war with Germany did not lead to the disappearance of the "*Ich Dien*" from the coat of arms of the Prince of Wales. Heraldry, the quintessence of symbolism, draws its mottoes from almost every language.

National boundaries do not in fact correspond to anything homogeneous or constant in the people within them. They have come into existence through a great variety of causes. Natural features, such as mountain ranges, rivers, deserts and coastlines have often played a determining part. Colonists settling originally in unwanted lands have expanded their territories and acquired a national consciousness. Conquests have forcibly united different peoples, often resulting in a complete merging of the conquered and the conquering. Territories have been ceded by one country to another by willing exchange, or have been bought by one country from another. Once the boundaries of an area under one government have been established the people tend slowly to develop a collective consciousness and ultimately display great patriotism in defending "their" country.

Physiographical differences between nations affect their social relations owing to the irregular distribution of natural wealth. One country has a superabundance of coal, another of gold, another of wheat-bearing areas. One country has fine harbours and waterways, another has little or no access to great oceans. The governing authority of each nation endeavours to make the best use of the natural wealth of the country exclusively in its own

interests, and in this way tariffs, trade barriers, subsidies, etc., come into existence. These economic factors are widely held to be the basic causes of war, but in themselves they do not provide an adequate explanation of war, since they have little or no significance for the masses of the people who have not sufficient knowledge of political economy to appreciate the effect of these measures on their personal affairs ; and without the support of the people modern war would be impossible. There has probably never yet been an international dispute, based upon economic questions, which could not have been settled without recourse to war had it not been for the emotions deliberately aroused in the people by those who control them. Accordingly rulers of nations who for any purpose wish to attack neighbouring nations, or who, owing to their clumsy handling of foreign relations, find themselves in a position in which war becomes unavoidable, always appeal to the emotions of the people, and this they do by calling upon the nation's patriotism, a complex assemblage of emotions which in fact welds a nation together, and gives it all its force and vitality for good or evil. Nationalism has no roots in anything material. It is patriotism which at times makes men disregard reason and act collectively against the very interests of their country, renders them willing to risk their lives in the wars of their nation whether for defence or aggression, leads them to overthrow the dictates of religion and morality as when they say " my country right or wrong," and makes them strive to maintain the particular allegiances and ideals of their country. A continent to-day is like a fertile land in which men have built walls running illogically in every direction across valleys, roads and rivers, useless for any purpose except to keep them apart, and patriotism is the cement which binds the living bricks of these walls together, immuring men in prisons of their own making. We have accordingly reached a stage in our enquiry into human conflicts which now demands the closest investigation into the origin and nature of this emotion.

CHAPTER VI

PATRIOTISM

“Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land ! . . .
If such there breathe, go, mark him well.
For him no minstrel raptures swell ;
High though his titles, proud his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim,—
Despite those titles, power and pelf,
The wretch, concentred all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonoured, and unsung.”

Scott.

“Never was patriot yet, but was fool.”

Dryden.

PATRIOTISM is usually defined as love of one's country, but if we were to ask a number of patriotic men and women what they mean by love of country we should probably get widely different replies. Some would think of its natural features, the “white cliffs of Old England,” the woods and fields, mountains and glens ; some would recall individual experiences, happy homes in peaceful villages, school playgrounds and college courts ; others, more idealistic, would say they loved their country because of its traditions, or the excellence of its laws or the freedom of its institutions ; and some would refer to its greatness—“God who made thee mighty, make thee mightier yet.” But all these reasons are either purely intellectual conceptions or are extensions of individual emotional experiences, and by themselves are inadequate to explain an emotion so fitful and so many-sided as that we call patriotism, an emotion which only occasionally and under some strong common stress manifests itself in any force, and then by no means universally. The lover of natural scenery for its own sake will equally love the hills and valleys of other countries, and if he professes to have exceptional love for English scenery, which is highly varied, he shows thereby that it is not the scenery itself but some quality he reads into it and expresses by the word “English” which excites his emotion. Happy experiences in childhood and youth cannot provide the inspiration for more than a limited number, since for the great majority early associa-

tions centre round life in mean streets and toil in field or factory. For similar reasons, love of "traditions" and love of "liberty" fail as adequate explanations of patriotism. To the uncultured, "great traditions" probably mean something demanding respect associated with a king or a flag or some state pageantry, and to the poor, liberty means little more than freedom to refuse to work at a particular job. So far from love of liberty being an incitement to patriotism, we know that patriotism in its most intense form may be seen in countries where personal liberty has been grossly infringed. Finally some might say that love of country really means love of one's fellow-countrymen. This emotion has already been shown to be one which is never strong outside the personal circle, and is only fitfully and temporarily aroused under some immediate stimulus to the imagination.

If it is difficult to find a satisfying reason for patriotism in relation to one country, it is more so when the conception is extended to an aggregate of countries forming an Empire. It is true that the Englishman is not often exhorted to "love" the British Empire, for the impossibility of loving a vast number of Canadians, Australians, Indians, Negroes, Arabs, etc., is evident, and some of these he does not care even to admit to his hotels. Instead of loving it he is bidden to be "proud" of his "glorious heritage" with its many millions of people and its vast extent of the earth's surface, though many Englishmen are singularly ill-informed both as to the geographical details and constitution of their Empire.

PATRIOTISM A DERIVED GROUP EMOTION

Patriotism in the larger sense has in fact no basis in anything material or in any direct emotion; it is a derived emotion, and is essentially an extension of the early community sentiment, which we have already studied, which is itself an extension of the family influence of infancy and childhood. Obviously any extension of the group conception either to people or areas beyond the limits of personal experience, can be effected only by teaching, including self-teaching. Equally the emotional attitude towards those extensions can be acquired only by teaching, and we know that both the knowledge and the patriotic emotion attached to it are sedulously taught in all countries. The child absorbs the notion of loyalty whenever it hears the National Anthem of the country and sees Royal or other national pageantry. At school

the boy or girl learns in detail of the greatness and extent of the country or Empire, using a "history" which interprets the country's past in the light of current ideals. If a boy is at an English Public School or is a Boy Scout, patriotism is a prominent feature in his education. He sees the victories of his country in the past commemorated in the names of the squares, bridges and streets of his cities. Loyalty to king and country is impressed upon him, while the foreigner is apt to be held up to ridicule in popular song and cartoon.¹

Group emotion is often deliberately employed to promote patriotism. We see instances in the way in which schools, colleges and other loyal organisations associate their group emotion with the national effort of the moment. In war-time they record the exploits of their members in the field, and enshrine their names on memorials if they fall; in peace they present loyal addresses to the monarch on such occasions as Jubilees and Coronations, acting as a group despite the fact that some members of the organisation may be opposed to these proceedings. The practice of maintaining territorial associations with regiments affords another instance of stimulating patriotism by group emotion. The Highland regiments of the British Army fought their way from Egypt to Libya in the battle-dress common to all units, but when they made their triumphal entry into Tripoli they wore their historic national costume and marched to the skirl of the pipes. The flash of the Royal Welch Fusiliers and many other treasured symbols have a purely group significance. The Commanding Officer, who in a desperate situation calls on his men to hold on "for the honour of the regiment," appeals to the same group sentiment.² The following instances of the influence

¹ "Its the sound of mastication by the Argentines and the Portuguese and the Greeks." *Popular Song*, 1937.

² The following is from the Parliamentary Report of *The Times* for August 6th, 1943 :—

"Mr. Loftus called attention to the fact that cavalry regiments, which now formed part of the Royal Armoured Corps, were not allowed to wear their regimental badge or name. He said that this decision had caused great dissatisfaction to the cavalry regiments, which had a great and historical tradition.

"Sir J. Grigg, Secretary of State for War, said that his general intention was to preserve tradition to the maximum extent that the hard facts of the case made possible. The objects of the Army Council Instruction were to foster *esprit de corps* and to put an end to the vast multiplicity of badges and signs which battalions, companies, and even units had got into the habit of assuming. Most of these were unauthorised and many were ridiculous. It was extremely frightening to see the extent to which separatism had developed in the matter of signs and badges, and how far down in such units it had gone. It was quite clear that the team spirit had been abused."

of the group emotion in stimulating conduct directed towards a larger purpose may be quoted :—

“Sergt. John Archibald Maclean, Queen’s Own Cameron Highlanders, wins the D.C.M. . . . After shooting up the post he went into the final assault himself with the bayonet leading the charge and encouraging his men with the war-cry of the Clan Maclean—‘Life or death’ and ‘Another for Hector,’ in Gaelic” (*London Gazette*, September, 1943).

“Havildar Gaje Ghale has been awarded the V.C. He dominated the fight by his outstanding example of dauntless courage and superb leadership. He led assault after assault, encouraging his platoon by shouting the Gurkha battle cry.” (*London Gazette*, October, 1943).

But though patriotism is an extension of the direct group and family emotions, it must not be identified with the group emotion. The fact must never be lost sight of that it is itself a derived emotion and consequently liable to manipulation as much for purposes of evil as for good.

THE FAMILY INFLUENCE IN PATRIOTISM

Survivals of the family emotion are obvious in the structure of patriotism ; the very word itself shows its origin in the father relation, and the country to which it is directed may be spoken of either as the “fatherland” or the “motherland.” When a voluntary effort is needed from the people, appeals are made for “hearth and home,” and many will remember in the first World War, before conscription was started in Britain, the recruiting poster representing a matronly woman sending her son to fight, with the words “My boy, your country needs you.” We could not have a closer identification of the mother sentiment with that desired to be aroused towards the country. The poster cleverly allayed any subconscious feeling of guilt the boy might have in leaving his mother.

Patriotism in any time of stress, particularly war, makes demands upon all the emotions the child feels towards its father, love, fear, respect and trust in his vast wisdom and overwhelming power. The general effect of these emotions is to establish a habit of obedience in the child which in time of war patriotism equally exacts from the man.

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE RULER

Since the conception of country is too impersonal to serve as a focus for emotion, patriotism expresses itself outwardly in demonstrations of regard and obedience to the Ruler, be he monarch, dictator or president. He becomes the great father and the people are his children. He must be respected and obeyed, and any slight to him or to the members of his family or to his symbols is resented as a personal insult. As the father, who alone has the right to control his children, he may impose or appear to impose, restrictions on the people which are accepted and even welcomed in the discharge of his protecting power, while, the same or even far lighter restrictions imposed by an authority regarded as "alien" become "tyranny and oppression." This is the psychological reason for the intense insistence on national sovereignty. In accordance with the practice of furthering a derived emotion by direct stimuli whenever possible, the Ruler keeps his personality before the populace. He addresses the whole people or their representatives from time to time, and he shows himself on state occasions with pageantry and music. His consort and the members of his family take part in ceremonial proceedings and the personal aspect is kept prominent in the popular press by photographs showing them in their homes and engaged in personal pursuits. A monarch whose lineaments were not familiar to his subjects would have little popularity amongst them. The births, christenings and marriages of members of his family are matters of public interest, and the death of one of them arouses real though evanescent emotion. Hitler, the outstanding master of this technique, carried it to the extreme when he not only had his portrait hung in every available place including school-chapels, but required everyone to utter and salute his name several times a day.

In time of war the protective function of the Ruler becomes more prominent. He must now review his troops and his navies ; he must personally decorate those who have distinguished themselves, and at intervals he must address and encourage the whole people. If he appears to have failed in his essential function of protecting the people he must fly the country or abdicate, as history has shown many times. The parental attitude of the Ruler was exemplified in France, where after the defeat and flight of the Government, the people in despair turned to the aged

Marshal Pétain who promptly accepted the role of the protecting father. He addressed the conqueror who had humbled France as "one old soldier to another," chided the people of France as a father rebukes his children, and promised to save them not only from their enemies but from the evil consequences of their past misdeeds, replacing their ancient motto by the words, "Labour, Family, Fatherland." On an earlier occasion the Germans turned to the aged Hindenburg for succour.

The greater the concentration of power both real and apparent in one figure, the greater is the capacity of that figure to excite uniform action in the community and, in particular, that implicit obedience to his decrees which is the essence of patriotism. That is why it is easier for a dictator to arouse the emotions of patriotism than for a constitutional monarch. In Germany, Hitler concentrated the whole power of the State in himself, and ceaselessly insisted upon all expressions of allegiance being made to himself. In this country the edicts of the Sovereign begin "We, by the Grace of God," but Hitler was always "I," "my patience is exhausted," etc. In Britain, too, the fact is well known that the Sovereign is a constitutional monarch who acts only on the advice of his Ministers. The Prime Minister is also an outstanding figure, acquiring prestige from the authority of Parliament, and the established Church is another powerful national force, the combined weight of these institutions being sufficient to dethrone the king if his conduct has not been in conformity with their ideals. We may note further that criticism of authority such as no dictator would tolerate, is permitted in this country, an instance being afforded by the famous resolution passed by the Oxford Union that "This House declines to fight for King and Country."

This aspect of patriotism—the restriction of freedom and the subservience to Authority—which is essential for its most vigorous manifestation, has a very definite relation to war, for everywhere we see that the more a country approximates to a democracy, *i.e.* the more the real feeling of the people can find expression, the less disposed is it to go to war. During the unhappy inter-war years the Government of this country, where power is divided, was prepared to make almost any sacrifice and accept grave humiliation to avoid war. America, perhaps the most nearly democratic Government in the world, only took up the sword when her own safety was directly threatened, and it was the intense desire of the

people of that country to keep out of war that led them into the tragic mistake of refusing to join the League of Nations. France, acutely divided both politically and socially during the inter-war years, strove to shelter herself behind her Maginot Line.

In Russia the circumstances were unusual. After the revolution there was an intense development of an emotion equivalent to patriotism expressed through the figure of Lenin but directed not towards an area of land but to groups of people, "the workers of the world." This movement was probably the greatest effort towards the ideal of universal brotherhood that the world has ever seen, but it was directly opposed to the self-centred patriotism of other countries and in consequence aroused their fears and relentless hostility. It was not until the appeal had failed to elicit any material response that, under Stalin, the intense spirit of nationalism developed in the Soviet Republics which enabled them to resist and then defeat the German invaders with such determined courage.

PACIFISM

The conception of patriotism as an emotion derived from those felt towards the protecting father and the family group helps us to understand the difficulties which beset the peace-maker. During a war, schemes to inaugurate an era of universal peace are eagerly canvassed in all countries, but when the war is over these same efforts receive much less support. The League of Nations was never a popular organisation in any country, and attempts were constantly made to disregard it or nullify its intentions, while those who pressed for the securing of peace by international action, were termed "pacifists," an appellation which at the best conveyed an element of contempt and at times excited downright anger. This is because the father in the cloak of the ruling authority is as much the protector of the family in peace as in war, and the pacifist who seeks outside help is looked at askance since his allegiance to the father is doubted. He is apparently ready to shake hands with his father's enemies and consequently cannot be trusted to help the country in an emergency. It is a common reproach to him that he is willing to uphold any country but his own, and the more keenly he argues in favour of internationalism the more his loyalty is questioned. He is regarded as dangerous, as possibly a wolf in sheep's clothing. On the other hand, the profession of the soldier is continuously glorified,

military uniforms being worn and military pageantry provided on many of the most peaceful civil occasions. So anxious are rulers of some countries to associate military might with the conception of Authority that even ladies of royal households are made colonels of regiments and review troops. When, a few years ago, the Queen of a peace-loving country died within our shores it was considered a mark of respect to take her remains back to her native land in a warship with an escort of destroyers.

The prejudice against pacifism was increased by the line of argument some of its supporters adopted. They did not confine their efforts to stressing the horror and wastefulness of war generally to both conquered and conqueror, a powerful and incontrovertible argument, they made the mistake of criticising the existing government for not doing more to disarm, which was psychologically equivalent to attacking and weakening the father, and they condemned the Treaty of Versailles, which was psychologically equivalent to sympathising with his enemies. The Archbishop of York, for instance, in a manifesto which was signed by many other eminent divines and laymen, said :—

“A very large proportion of the political and economic dangers which threaten us are directly attributable to the un-Christian manner in which we treated our enemies of the Great War. One of the most profoundly important lessons of modern history is to be learned from a comparison of the effects of our treatment of South Africa after the Boer War and of Germany at Versailles.”¹

The misleading use of the pronoun “we” in this quotation will be noticed, suggesting identity of the contemporary government both with that which signed the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and that which signed the Treaty of Vereeniging in 1902.

PATRIOTISM AND YOUTH

It is characteristic of those who are interested in creating or stimulating a derived emotion to direct their appeals most persistently and vigorously to the young. We have an outstanding example of this in the strenuous efforts which are made by Churches to secure the teaching of their beliefs in schools, and the tendency is equally prominent in the stimulation of patriotism. We are sometimes told that this is due to the young having more

¹ *The Times*, December 16th, 1936.

“generous impulses,” yet apart from patriotic manifestations, the altruism of the young is not conspicuously greater than that of the elderly, indeed it is a frequent complaint of the elderly to-day that the young are selfish and thoughtless. The real reason is that the young are nearer that period of life when conduct is governed mainly by emotion. They are still influenced by the psychological conception of the father, and retain much of the faith of childhood in the greater wisdom and superiority of the elders ; later in life many of them will come to distrust the teachings they were given when young. Accordingly when the Elder Statesmen appeal to the patriotism of youth they usually lay stress on the emotional aspect, while arguments based on reason are kept in the background and the suppression of inconvenient facts is considered quite legitimate. Moreover, youth is always asked to fight for some great and noble cause such as a good father would wish his children to support. The young are never asked to fight for political or economic causes. Either they fight in self-defence having been assured that the other side is the aggressor, or they fight for some exalted purpose such as defence of liberty or democracy or rescue of the oppressed. Here, for instance, is what Mr. Lloyd George said at a demonstration in the Queen’s Hall in September, 1914, at the commencement of the first World War :—

“ I envy you young people your youth. . . . It is a great opportunity. It only comes once in many centuries to the children of men. . . . It has come to-day to you, it has come to-day to us all, in the form of the glory and thrill of a great movement for liberty, that impels millions throughout Europe to the same end. It is a great war for the emancipation of Europe from the thralldom of a military caste, which has cast its shadow upon two generations of men, and which has now plunged the world into a welter of bloodshed.”

But in his *War Memoirs*, published in 1938, Mr. Lloyd George makes it perfectly clear that it was the invasion of Belgium and the consequent menace to this country which brought Britain into the war. He says :—

“ Before then the Cabinet was hopelessly divided—fully one-third, if not one-half, being opposed to our entry into the war. After the German ultimatum to Belgium the Cabinet was almost unanimous. . . . The Franco-Russian alliance

was offensive and defensive. France was therefore bound to support Russia but Britain was not in that position. Russian autocracy was almost as unpopular with the people of these islands as Bolshevism is to-day. It was identified with Siberian prisons for political offenders and wholesale pogroms of harmless Jews, and with the massacre of workers whose only crime was the presentation of a petition for redress of their undoubted wrongs. So long therefore as the war was likely to take the form of a contest between the autocracies of Germany and Austria on the one hand, and of Russia and her Allies on the other, British opinion was definitely opposed to intervention."

It will be seen that there is no suggestion of any urge to emancipate Europe from military thralldom in these words, and it will be recalled that so far from helping the people of Russia to overthrow the autocracy Mr. Lloyd George condemns in such strong terms, Britain sent a force actively to oppose the revolutionaries.

Instances of stirring up popular passion against an enemy while obscuring the real issues could be given from many wars of the past. Before the South African War, agitation was worked up over the wrongs and grievances of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal, and the Poet Laureate had already represented the stupid and ignominious Jameson raid as an act of heroism to rescue "the girls of the gold-reef city." That incidentally these noble efforts might also have the effect of securing cheap native labour for the gold-mines was not so generally known. In the Crimean war the British Government joined the French against Russia because they thought the trade route to India was threatened, but the enthusiasm of the people in this country was directed towards saving the Turk from the violence of the Russian bear; and Catholic France was aroused by the claim of the Russian Church for certain privileges in the holy places at Jerusalem.

¶ After the fall of France in the second World War, Britain needed no exhortations to fight for a righteous cause, since it was clear to everyone that the country was now fighting for its very existence. Nevertheless, her public spokesmen continued to assert that the fight was to save "democracy," "liberty," "Christian civilisation," etc., an attitude which was not conspicuous before the war over the wrongs of Manchuria, China, Abyssinia, Spain and Czechoslovakia. Even in Germany before

the outbreak of war, the youth were told that they were only defending themselves against encirclement by their enemies, and that if they were required to fight outside their frontiers it would be solely to rescue their compatriots from foreign tyranny, while Hitler stoutly maintained that his only desire was to secure world peace.¹ Mussolini asserted that Italy invaded Abyssinia to suppress slavery ; and Japan sought only to "free" China in attacking her.

In America the development of political thought was interesting. Before the war the people of that country had taken every possible step to ensure their isolation from the rest of the world in the event of war ; and when war broke out their neutrality laws were such that American ships could not carry cargoes to any belligerent port. Although sympathy was with this country, and it was early recognised that American interests would best be served by a British victory, the Bill amending the Neutrality Act so as to permit Britain to be freely supplied with munitions of war, was carried only by 212 votes to 194 in the U.S. House of Representatives, and by 50 votes to 37 by the Senate, and this was not until November, 1941, more than two years after the beginning of the war. During subsequent years President Roosevelt made it abundantly clear that America would be guided solely by her own interests, and it was not until her safety was obviously threatened that she became an active belligerent. Thereafter, however, the pressing desire to save all mankind quickly became apparent. The following extract from a speech containing "A promise to the youth of all nations, free or subjugated," made by President Roosevelt in 1942, is strikingly similar to Mr. Lloyd George's utterance quoted above :—

"We exalt in the thought that it is the young, the free men and women of the United Nations who will hold and shape the new world. We here at home are supremely conscious of our obligations to you now and in the future. We will not let you down . . . when you come home we do not propose

¹ On January 1st, 1939, Hitler said, in his New Year speech :—"National-Socialist Germany says farewell to 1938 with deep thankfulness for the gracious workings of Providence. . . . Our appreciation of the historic role played by Mussolini in the maintenance of peace this year fills us with deep gratitude. We thank also the other statesmen who this year have stood with us to seek and find ways to peaceful solution of problems which could not be postponed. . . . We have but one wish—that in the coming year we may also be able to make our contribution to the general pacification of the world." *The Times*, January 2nd, 1939.

to involve you as last time in a domestic economic mess of our own making. Victory is essential ; but victory is not enough for you—or for us. We must be sure when you have won victory that you will not have to tell your children you fought in vain—that you were betrayed. There is complete unanimity of spirit among all youths, all kinds and kindreds who fight to preserve or regain their freedom. . . . We believe that with divine guidance we can make—in this dark world of to-day and in the new post-war world—steady progress towards the highest goals that men have ever imagined.”¹

No one would question for a moment President Roosevelt’s profound sincerity in making this appeal, but it must be remembered that he has no more power to control or bind his successors than had his equally high-minded predecessor, President Woodrow Wilson, whose efforts to secure permanent peace after the last war were promptly repudiated by the American people with such unfortunate results.

Perhaps the most interesting thing in Mr. Roosevelt’s speech is his admission that youth was betrayed in the last war, a thing he promises shall not happen again. But youth is constantly betrayed, as much in peace as in war, it is betrayed in childhood and adolescence, and as long as those who are concerned to propagate certain derived emotions have control of education, the interests of youth will continue to be subordinated to their wishes.

THE PERSONIFICATION OF A COUNTRY

Although a country is fundamentally no more than a geographical expression, it undergoes a process of personification and is given a continuity of life which have far-reaching social effects. This is the result of the transfer of the family and group emotions to what is a purely intellectual conception, aided by repeated, direct stimuli associated with the personality of the Ruler and a variety of national symbols. The country is credited with all kinds of human emotions ; it can be “ honoured ” or “ insulted ” or “ disgraced,” and it may be given a soul which can be “ saved ” or “ lost.” The fact that such usage of these words is purely metaphorical, since only men and women can behave honourably

¹ *The Times*, September 4th, 1942.

or dishonourably, is overlooked. A man may be justifiably proud of his own achievements, and pleased with those of his relatives and friends, but to be "proud" of a country is an illogical transfer which may even be dangerous. This personification would not be harmful if it were employed only in poetry or fantasy, as in "If England to itself do rest but true," and "Who dies if England lives?" or in comforting but unsound aphorisms as "England always muddles through" and "England always wins the last battle," but the metaphorical usage is constantly disregarded, and the words are given a grim literalness which may exercise an influence for centuries.

The impression of living continuity is increased by the practice of public speakers of using the pronouns "we" and "our" when they mean them to apply much more widely than to the present generation, with the result that "we" of to-day are held responsible for the acts of our long-dead forbears. This personification indicates a conception of society as a static institution while in fact it is constantly changing. A country may have a thousand years of history behind it and during that period different forms of Government have prevailed, religions have altered their character, degrees of culture have varied, and ideals have influenced men for a time and disappeared, but the emotions created in these varying conditions—"old unhappy far-off things and battles long ago"—may be passed down from generation to generation and embitter the relations of living men and women to-day. It is a demonstrable fact that Cromwell's cruelties in Ireland three centuries ago are still playing their part in creating that ill-feeling in Eire which prevents the British from using the ports on the Atlantic seaboard, and leads to deaths of British seamen. We have good reason to think that the Germans would have attacked Eire but for the British Navy and the Army in Northern Ireland, yet the Lady Mayoress of Dublin refuses to wear the chain of office because it was presented to the Corporation by William of Orange, and patriotic Dubliners have in recent years blown up his statue and that of George II. Psychologically there are between England and Eire all the elements which lead to war, and if we imagine Eire suddenly becoming the military equal of England, there is little doubt that the two countries would quickly be engaged in hostilities. Yet it is not too much to say that the overwhelming bulk of the individuals in England, Northern Ireland and Eire would be only too glad to

live on terms of peace and mutual aid. What separates these peoples in their collective capacities is nothing material, but simply a fanatical adherence to certain derived emotions and their associated symbols. If knowledge of the historical relations between England and Ireland could be wiped out and a generation reared which knew nothing of the past, these obviously manufactured enmities would not come into existence. But patriots with a sense of grievance take care to keep the ancient bitternesses alive, and when they are in positions of power thrust their grievances, in the name of education, upon the young who, in their turn, hand them on to new generations.

Many other instances of the cherishing of ancient enmities can be given. It is currently believed that there is a traditional ill-feeling in the French Navy against the British, and it has even been suggested that it played a part in the failure of the French fleet to join the British after the fall of France. If this ill-feeling exists, it would be interesting to know to what extent it has been maintained by the annual proceedings in London on "Trafalgar Day" to celebrate "our" victory over the French of a century and a half ago. The defeat of the Italians at Adowa in 1896 was used by Mussolini to inflame passion in his campaign against the Abyssinians forty years later.

South Africa has a melancholy history from this point of view. Bitterness has existed between Boer and Britain ever since 1806, when the British conquered Cape Colony for the second time and abolished the Dutch language in courts of justice and official documents. The defeat of the British at Majuba in 1881 was recalled in 1899, at the opening of the South African War—"Avenge Majuba" was the cry—and when, in the following year, the Boer General Cronje was defeated by forces which outnumbered him by ten to one, Lord Roberts concluded his announcement of the victory with the words: "I hope Her Majesty's Government will consider this event satisfactory, occurring as it does on the anniversary of Majuba"; and Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, at a public banquet described the victory as having "wiped out the stain of Majuba." Some fruits of these pitiful proceedings were seen at the ceremonies in 1939 commemorating the Great Trek of the Dutch from Cape Colony a hundred years earlier, when "the representative of the King was not invited to the gathering at Pretoria; *Die Stem* was sung without the National Anthem, nowhere at any time

was there any appearance of the British flag, and an Englishman was not allowed to speak in English.”¹

A recent instance of the deliberate fomentation into a national grievance of a matter hitherto of no concern to the great bulk of the people was afforded by the agitation in Wales already mentioned, over an Act of 1536 which required court proceedings in Wales to be conducted in English. Although this Act had long fallen into disuse, and either language could be used freely in the courts, it was thought necessary even in the midst of a war to occupy parliamentary time in repealing it; and in pressing for the repeal the Secretary of the Welsh Language Petition, personifying both countries, said: “Wales knows her mind over the question; and she confidently relies on England’s sense of justice and fair play for an answer to her appeal.”

Brittany ceased to be a subdivision of France in 1790, but a few years ago a separatist party was formed to re-establish Breton autonomy, and members of the party strove to achieve their object by damaging public buildings and blowing up statues, including a statue at Rennes which commemorated the ceremony of the “Union of all Frenchmen” held in Paris in 1790. Nevertheless these fantastic proceedings at one time seemed likely to gain their object, for when the Germans occupied France they proclaimed that Brittany should in due course become a national state!

In Belgium, before the war, the Flemish nationalists had demanded the “liberation” of Flanders from Belgium; in Yugoslavia bitterness between the Croats and the Serbs continued even after the occupation of the country by the Germans.

Perhaps the most unfortunate instance of personification of a country is afforded by “India.” This vast area with a population verging on four hundred millions, speaking over two hundred languages and having a variety of Governments and religions, is constantly spoken of as though it had only one mind and one interest. “India” demands its freedom we are assured, and the British Government is constantly assailed for its tyranny to “India.” In actual fact this unity is entirely fictitious. The vast bulk of the people are illiterate, only a small percentage of them being able to read, and it would be utterly impossible for these teeming, divided millions, in their present low state of

¹ *The Future of South Africa.* Rt. Hon. Viscount Horne. *Sunday Times*, January 8th, 1939.

culture, to appreciate the issues or give adequate expression to their views. The real position is that groups of educated men, variously inspired by philanthropy, ambition, fanaticism or self-interest, each group claiming to represent so many millions of the population, are vying with each other and with the British Government for power, nominally for the good of "India" but actually in the interest of the group.

This section may be concluded with an instance of the misleading personification of a country, pertinent to the circumstances at the time of writing. "Scrutator," in the *Sunday Times* of October 10th, 1943, after recounting the surrender of 30,000 Italians to 7,000 Germans, in the island of Rhodes, says :—

"At present, while every Allied advance in Italy is enthusiastically welcomed—and sometimes assisted—by the civil population, it is left almost entirely to the British and Americans to shed their blood in expelling the Germans. Little or no help or support is undertaken by Italian troops. If this goes on unchanged, the position of Italy at the peace conference will be unenviable. It will be that of a criminal Power which has done nothing effective towards purging its crimes.

"For, let us make no mistake about it, Italy has much to purge. She has been an habitual aggressor. For the tragedy of the present European conflict her responsibility began long before she entered it. She shares it with Germany, and with Germany alone. If she thinks to obtain any lightening of the consequences, she must, in Mr. Churchill's phrase, 'work her passage.'"

The facts, of course, are that there never was an "Italy" capable of expressing an opinion. There was merely an area of land containing a number of people who, under the sway of various derived emotions, were ruled by the Dictator, Mussolini, from 1922 to 1943, when they passed under the control of another group who promptly directed them to turn their weapons against their former ally. But in the chaos of defeat and in the brief interval when they were no longer under group control, the people quickly showed their own minds, the soldiers throwing down their arms and the civilians enthusiastically welcoming their erstwhile enemies. If the peasants, workmen and soldiers in the rest of Europe followed the example of the Italian people, as there is good reason to believe they would do if they were free agents, war would cease and would not recur until the people

again came under the influence of an interested group emotion. Nevertheless by labelling the people "Italy," "Scrutator" identifies them with the dictator group and holds them equally responsible for the acts of the latter. Not until men learn that there is no "Italy," no "America," no "Germany," no "France," no "India," and cease to identify groups of living men with conceptions which have no basis in reality, will they begin to live at peace with each other.

PATRIOTISM NOT A UNIVERSAL EMOTION

Patriotism, like other derived emotions, is far from being uniformly displayed by the individual members of a community. Some men exhibit at all times a strong sense of patriotism ; others have no vestige of concern for the interests of the country except to the extent to which they are personally affected. Between these extremes is the general body of people whose patriotism in ordinary circumstances must continually be kept alive by all the familiar devices, and in wartime may not be sufficient to induce them to undertake national service without compulsion.

Experience in the second World War has shown that in all the countries occupied by the enemy, disciples of the eponymous Quisling presented themselves who were ready to co-operate with their conquerors even to the extent of imprisoning and shooting their fellow-countrymen at the order of the foe.

In time of peace many wealthy persons turned themselves into limited liability companies in order to avoid payment of death duties, or domiciled themselves outside the country to escape income-tax. During the war large numbers of persons have regarded the country's necessities as opportunities for enriching themselves. Food has been hoarded and grave breaches of the food restrictions perpetrated by all classes from the highest to the lowest ; fraudulent contractors have cheated the country out of great sums of money, sometimes with the assistance or connivance of officials in high places, and landlords have forced up rents to the utmost they could extort from their fellow-citizens. Highly placed members of the Services have used their positions to get illegal advantages for themselves, poultry-farms have been robbed all over the country and looting by labourers employed to repair or demolish damaged houses has been on a great scale. It is characteristic of the inconsistent nature of the human mind that self-seeking conduct towards the community is by no means

incompatible with altruism towards the individual. The unwilling conscript will on the battlefield display great bravery to rescue a fallen comrade, and a demolition labourer will risk his life to help a fellow-labourer in danger, and then resume his looting of the property on which he is working. The cries of an injured man evoke a direct emotion, the prohibition of looting appeals only to a derived emotion.

INTERNATIONALISM

Yet despite its uneven distribution and unreliability, patriotism constitutes the greatest obstacle to any closer union of the nations. For the psychological reasons we have examined, no country is willing to accept any abatement of its claim for national sovereignty. Even during the progress of the war some of those who claim to be representatives of ravaged and enemy-occupied countries still demand restoration of complete independence after the war. Yet it must be clear to all thinking men that the choice before humanity is the continuance of national sovereignty with its corollary war, or the adoption of some form of international union. It is sometimes stated that no nation would trust its defence to an assemblage of other nations, but the unhappy history of the last twenty years has shown the folly of relying on self-defence. Three great countries, at the end of the first World War among the most powerful in the world, watched in the succeeding years their former enemy deliberately re-arm, even assisting him to do so, and in spite of warnings, some actually from the enemy himself, made no adequate preparations to meet the challenge. When the trial came, one of these countries was rapidly overrun, and the two others would almost certainly have suffered the same fate had they not been separated from their foe by sea. The defencelessness of small nations under present world conditions is obvious, yet the spokesmen of some, even of those which have been twice overrun by their enemies, seem determined to insist on a course which can only repeat their terrible experience. It is futile to rely on the power of an allied group of nations at the end of a successful war, for such groupings have no inherent stability, and may change quickly. In the first World War, Italy, Rumania and Japan were all on the side of the Allies ; twenty years later they were ranged against them. Men who fought the British in the South African war fought side by side with them in a European war a few years later, and one of

them became a British Field-Marshal. There is scarcely a country in Europe which has not at some time or other fought with and against other countries. No matter what "blocs" or "alliances" or "leagues" are made, sooner or later they will break down if the permanent root causes of international hostility are not eradicated.

War will not be abolished until all nations have realised their common interest in peace. And since division between nations is maintained not by material and innate causes but by sentiments and emotions, the realisation of their common interests cannot be effected by laws and treaties, but only by a process of education, aimed at eradicating or controlling the derived emotions which are the fundamental cause of the present international anarchy.

Internationalism has already reached such a stage that no major country can deviate very far from established lines without to a large extent isolating itself from the rest of the world, in spirit if not in material things, and subjecting itself to danger. Russia, after the revolution, furnished an example: the cry, "Workers of the world unite" fell everywhere on deaf ears, and the U.S.S.R. was looked upon as outside the pale by all countries. Later, Italy and then Germany were in the same position, and at the bottom of all the discussions as to the future of these two countries is the desire to bring them back into that general comity of nations which is not yet strong enough to prevent war between them, yet is not wholly non-existent. The pre-war pacifist policy of Britain was completely futile as a means of promoting international peace, and eventually exposed the country to grave risk. The American policy of isolation was equally useless.

But though nations adopt various degrees of isolation and insist upon complete independence, a ceaseless trend in social evolution is continuously breaking down barriers between them. Early communities were largely separated from each other by geographical conditions and difficulties of communication, and each community tended to develop its own customs and culture and its modification of language. But as civilisation progressed and roads were made and inter-communication grew, local differences have continually tended to disappear, and there has been a steady progress towards internationalism which, though often opposed, has made for the advantage of all communities. It is worth while recalling some of the steps in this evolutionary process:

The Egyptians, Greeks and Romans divided the month in

different ways ; to-day there is only one system in the whole civilised world. The Arabic system of numerals displaced the clumsy Roman method and became universal. The revival of learning and the discovery of printing immensely facilitated the spread of knowledge. To-day the same scientific terms are used all over the world ; scientific discoveries are made known and become available to all countries, and scientific symbols, units, constants and tables, compiled by workers in many countries, are common property. The sciences of astronomy and navigation have enabled the ships of all peoples to traverse the globe, and hydrography and associated sciences have furnished a knowledge of the seas and their currents and dangers, which immensely contributes to the safety of all ocean travellers. Systems of weights and measures, which at one time were of great variety, have been reduced to two throughout nearly the whole civilised world. The Health Section of the League of Nations has established an international system of nomenclature of diseases and of vital statistics with benefit to public health everywhere. All this knowledge is used internationally without thought of its origin. Germany is not humiliated by using the meridian of Greenwich or the French metre, and the people of America do not resent using the British pound weight and yard. German geneticists and stockbreeders must use the work of the French Abbé Mendel, and German physicians must accept the help of the Jewish scientists, Widal, Wassermann and Erlich, as British and French physicists accept the discoveries of the Germans Plank and Einstein, sufferers from tuberculosis all over the world are helped by the work of the German, Koch, and millions of Mahatma Ghandi's countrymen accept and benefit from the researches of French and English physicians on malaria. Scientific discovery has done far more to promote international unity than ever religion did. The peace-time services of the Post Office, telegraph, telephone and transport have to a large extent been internationalised either by Government action or private enterprise. The great literature and art of all countries is within reach of all. We read translations of Chinese and Japanese masterpieces, and we share with the countries of their origin the operas of Wagner, the paintings of Tintoretto and the works of Tolstoy. The Parthenon, the Roman Forum and the mediæval cathedrals of France and Germany appeal to those of all faiths and all countries. Culturally and economically the peoples of

the world are to-day closer than they have ever been before, and to-day also they are fighting the bloodiest battles they have ever fought—in pursuit of shadows.

As an offset to the beneficial discoveries of scientific men, the reproach is sometimes made against science that it has given the world its most terrible modern weapons, the submarine and the bombing aeroplane. But this is a baseless charge: "science" is an abstraction and has never done anything of itself. All action is that of a man or men, and as long as men under the sway of emotion allow themselves to be governed by those who use scientific discoveries for the purpose of destruction, they must not blame "science" for their ills. If the world were governed on scientific principles it would not suffer from anything so unscientific as war, while disease and poverty would be enormously decreased.

PATRIOTISM AND PEACE

Patriotism forms the greatest obstacle to the establishment of relations between countries which involve any degree of submission to an overriding international authority, and it was a material factor in the general unpopularity of the League of Nations, limited in power though that organisation was. Yet, as we have seen, patriotism is a composite, unreliable and far from universally felt emotion. In ordinary circumstances patriotism is displayed through the observance of symbolism, and to many, such observance is itself the essence of patriotism; these persons rigidly obey the customs and conventions associated with patriotic demonstrations and noisily insist on others doing the same, yet can by no means necessarily be relied on to make any real sacrifice for the country if occasion arises. Others, more clear-minded, realise that the demonstrations are symbolic, but though they may not be in sympathy with the reality behind the symbolism, nevertheless join in their mass observance for purely personal reasons. The man who has written an article advocating some form of international federation will yet unite with others in a demonstration which is meaningless in the absence of full sovereignty of the country; just as the eminent divine who has written a book undermining some of the pillars of his religion will in his public utterances support those pillars. In consequence there is a great deal of spurious patriotism in the community, whether resulting from hypocrisy or from a somewhat pusillani-

mous reluctance to seem isolated, and this may be strongly evoked by any proposal which seems to derogate from the country's dignity and importance. Before any scheme of international federation could become really effective, it would be necessary to establish in all countries a much larger degree of tolerance of difference of opinion on this question, a change which could only be brought about by a process of social education. It would mean that while there would be no hindrance to individual demonstrations of patriotism or to groups organising themselves for that purpose, governments of countries would no longer associate themselves with expressions of patriotism or use national symbols. Celebrations designed to emphasize the position of the country in some relation to other countries, such as Empire Day in Britain or Independence Day in U.S.A., would no longer be officially recognised ; children in State schools would not be taught to salute the flag ; national anthems would cease to be used and national flags would become merely convenient signs of identity. In this country loyal toasts would cease to be drunk at public banquets, and if the playing of a certain air was retained as the signal that a theatrical performance was at an end, those who wished to do so could start putting on their coats and hats instead of "standing to attention," without arousing the displeasure of others. Merely to mention these steps is sufficient to indicate how strongly they would be resented, yet time may show that they are essential if ever reason is to be substituted for emotion in the handling of international affairs, the only way in which war is likely to be brought to an end. Those who would be distressed at such a movement can take comfort in the thought that though patriotic demonstrations voluntarily organised would be smaller, they would be sincere, and it would not be left to the occurrence of war to reveal how large is the number of loud-voiced persons in every country whose patriotic cloak is very thin.

These measures would not, of course, relieve a government of the obligation to take adequate steps for the defence of the country where such steps seemed necessary. It might be claimed that stimulation of patriotism is itself an essential measure of defence. But this is a mistake. In the present state of the world, statesmen assume or deprecate patriotic attitudes just as occasion suits them, and there is no relation between the asseverations of patriotism of a government and the strength with which it will

maintain the defences of a country. An instance was afforded by Britain during the inter-war years when, despite the fact that the Government was almost continuously in the hands of the political party credited with being the most patriotic, the defences of the country were allowed to sink to a point so low as to expose it to danger greater than ever before in its history. In France the leaders of the later "collaborationists" were all patriotic before the country was defeated, as were the "quislings" in Norway and other countries. Even in this country many of those whom it was found necessary to intern under the Defence Regulations were not members of the political party popularly supposed to be enemies of the country, but persons who before the war noisily asserted their patriotism.

Measures of this type—if ever they are seriously contemplated—would best be promulgated by an international organisation, since their progress in several countries simultaneously would lessen the hostility likely to be aroused by action in one country only. In spite of the number of international organisations devoting their efforts to establishing permanent peace, there is perhaps room for yet another which shall base both its principles and its propaganda on the foundation of rationalism.

The effect of patriotism in maintaining isolation of nations is increased by the fostering it receives in some countries from a national church and from class interests. These social influences are examined in later chapters.

CHAPTER VII

WAR : SOME MISCONCEPTIONS

"But war's a game, which, were their subjects wise,
Kings would not play at. Nations would do well
T'extort their truncheons from the puny hands
Of heroes, whose infirm and baby minds
Are gratified with mischief, and who spoil,
Because men suffer it, their toy the world."

Cowper.

THREE views are widely held as to the causation of war : (1) that it is due to an instinct of pugnacity in man, (2) that it is a manifestation of mass sadism, and (3) that it is the result of an evolutionary process which in the long run is beneficial to the human species.

THE THEORY OF AN INSTINCT OF PUGNACITY

Many psychologists, among whom may be mentioned William McDougall, Shand, Thorndike and J. B. Watson, have found an instinct of pugnacity in man which leads him to attack his fellow-creatures. The extent to which this view is held by more recent writers is illustrated by a manifesto signed by 350 psychiatrists and psychologists from a large number of countries, including sixty-three from the British Isles, which was addressed in 1935 to "all the statesmen of the world." The signatories stated that they had felt impelled to issue the address as it was their "duty to investigate the normal and diseased mind, and to serve mankind with our knowledge." They foresaw grave danger to mankind from "war-psychosis," and in the course of their address they said :—

"There is a seeming contradiction between the conscious individual aversion to war and the collective preparedness to wage war. This is explained by the fact that the behaviour, the feelings, the thoughts of an independent individual are quite different from those of a man who forms part of a collective whole. Civilised twentieth-century man still possesses strong, fierce and destructive instincts, which have not been sublimated, or only partially so, and which break loose as soon as the community to which he belongs feels itself threatened by danger. The unconscious desire to give rein to the primi-

tive instinct not only without punishment but even with reward, furthers in great measure the preparedness for war. It should be realised that the fighting instinct, if well directed, gives energy for much that is good and beautiful. But the same instinct may create chaos if it breaks loose, making use of the greatest discoveries of the human intellect. . . . We psychiatrists declare that our science is sufficiently advanced for us to distinguish between real, pretended and unconscious motives, even in statesmen. The desire to disguise national militarism by continual talk about peace will not protect political leaders from the judgment of history. . . . International organisation is now sufficiently advanced to enable statesmen to prevent war by concerted action.”¹

The signatories to this modestly worded appeal did not indicate the countries on which they based their statements, but their views were not borne out by the experience of this country, where, though there was much talk of peace, there was assuredly no disguised preparedness for war; and the same thing may be said of the U.S.A. On the other hand, in Italy and Germany, the two countries which were most ready for war, there was no attempt to hide national militarism.

Dr. William Brown, the Wilde Professor of Psychology at Oxford, says in his book, *War and Peace* (1939), “Among these primitive instincts I would emphasise the instinct of pugnacity as something definite and unmistakable. . . . This and other instincts undergo a fierce arousal as soon as war is declared.” In a letter to *The Times* (February 9th, 1939) he writes, under the heading “Pugnacity and the Sub-conscious” :—

“The instinct of pugnacity, which is quite unmistakable, works through definite channels in relation to nervous mechanism, and rises in appalling strength the moment war breaks out. As soon as the war atmosphere is created, as soon as, or even before, the enemy is identified, a pugnacious feeling, uncontrolled by reason or prudence or compassion, develops in the vast majority of human beings.”

These views are accepted by others who would not claim to be authorities on psychology, and are given increased currency. Lord Davies, for instance, in his book, *Force* (1935), speaks of the “combative instinct inherent in the nature of man, inherited from his ancestors, the cave-dwellers,” and says :—

¹ *Lancet*, October 19th, 1935.

"The combative instinct in human nature is highly developed. Of all animals man is the gamest. He will fight to the death even when his reason tells him that his fate is sealed.¹ The dumb beast, on the other hand, is driven to his final defeat by the primitive passions of rage and fury. . . . In the international sphere this instinct seldom slumbers. It is goaded to assert itself by all manner of agencies, some of which operate in the open whilst others work in the dark. The Press, for instance, is a constant irritant, loudly proclaiming the backslidings of every country other than its own, whilst the armament firms prefer to stimulate the combatant spirit by devious and subterranean methods."

How fantastically incorrect were the generalisations of the psychologists was shown by the events which preceded the outbreak of the second World War. In the late summer and autumn of 1938 this country was threatened by grave danger. Men believed themselves to be in dire peril from invasion, they saw their Prime Minister rushing between London and Munich, they saw holes being frantically dug in the public parks, and they anticipated widespread devastation from the air. The war atmosphere was created, the enemy was all too clearly identified, and there was every reason to believe that war was imminent, but there was no manifestation of "strong, fierce and destructive instincts" breaking loose or of "pugnacious feeling uncontrolled by reason, prudence or compassion" arising in appalling strength in the vast majority. The prevailing emotion was one of apprehension, uncertainty and bewilderment at this almost incredible thing threatening to occur. Then Mr. Chamberlain returned from his last visit to Munich with his message "This means peace in our time," and the people, who now, according to the psychologists, should have been displaying uncontrolled pugnacity, became almost delirious with joy. The relief was immense. Mr. Chamberlain had saved his country, and he had to appear on the balcony of Buckingham Palace to receive the plaudits of his grateful countrymen. In France, M. Daladier, who as we know now, feared to be reproached with failure on his return, was received with equal demonstrations of gratitude. Most significantly of all, in Germany, the country in which bellicosity

¹ This is obviously much more a matter of training than of instinct. Well-disciplined and well-led troops fight far better than those which have not got these advantages.

had been incessantly encouraged, the masses of the people were unmistakably relieved when they learned that war was averted.

When war was actually declared in September, 1939, there was less apprehension in Britain, as the people believed that the country was better prepared to meet the onslaught. There was disappointment and anger that the country had once more been plunged into war after the heavy sacrifices of the last war, and there was a grim determination that this time the result should be decisive, but there was no evidence of "uncontrolled pugnacity." Up to the very last Britain would have accepted almost any settlement on which it felt it could have relied, and at no time during the war have there been in this country manifestations which would have justified the descriptions of the psychologists. It is true that popular ebullitions may occur in certain circumstances to which the term "war fever" has been applied. We saw such outbursts in this country before the South African war, and they have occurred in Germany and Italy, but it cannot be too strongly emphasised that these demonstrations are not "instinctive." They may be spontaneous, but much more often they are manifestations of derived emotions deliberately worked up by a few.

It should be noted that the view of the psychologists, that man has little power of control over the emotions which lead to war, is supported by the Churches. In a letter published in *The Times* (April 19th, 1943) under the heading "Church Leaders' Appeal" and signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of Liverpool, the Moderator of the Church of Scotland and representatives of many foreign Churches, occurred the statement: "The rivalries and strifes that do so much to ruin life and culminate in the insensate horror of war spring from sources in human nature too deep to be controlled by human planning." Those who find themselves unable to accept the view that a Deity governs the mundane affairs of men must regard this as an attitude of despair.

WAR AND SADISM

Sadism is a term applied by psychologists to aggressive impulses which are suppressed in the individual and are unconscious, expressing themselves only in a disguised form or through channels which do not offend the conscious mind. Dr. Edward Glover, the Director of Scientific Research of the London Institute of Psycho-Analysis, defines sadism as a "fusion of archaic destructive

and love impulses." The view has frequently been put forward that war results from the urge to gratify sadism, and Dr. Glover in his book, *War, Sadism and Pacifism* (1933), says : " To put it crudely, so long as the humblest civil servant is an unconscious sadist or suffers from unconscious guilt, the country is not safe from war." We have already made some study of sadism (v. p. 46) and we saw in the last chapter there is an element of this quality in every normal person.

In regarding sadism as a cause of war, psychologists make the mistake of confusing war with battle. Sadism may be strongly felt and gratified in actual fighting with the enemy, but modern war is not provoked and initiated by an outburst of sadism, though stimulation of sadism, as occurred in Germany, may be one of its weapons. War does not come suddenly and unexpectedly in the night but is preceded by a period of stress, uncertainty, and preparation of the individual, which is too remote from actual fighting to make any appeal to the sadism in the average man. The activities which eventuate in open war are always those of a man or a group of men who are determined to gain a certain object whether it leads to war or not, and the war is already in existence, whether actually declared or not, before there is any opportunity of appealing to sadism. Once started the energy and efforts necessary to carry on the war are stimulated by constant appeals to patriotism. Some men may join the army under a sadistic impulse, but the proportion of the community who do so is small. The theory that war is an exhibition of mass sadism breaks down completely before the fact that in a war of any magnitude all countries have found it necessary to resort to compulsion in order to maintain their armies.

Sadism in the normal man who has a " well-balanced " mind is kept under control, but it may be violently stimulated by an exceptional personal experience, and can then be gratified only by a personal experience. An abstraction is of no use as an outlet. Sadism will never make people hate the " enemy " or even " Germany " ; and many a man has served through a war and hated his own sergeant more bitterly than he has ever hated any of his foreign foes. In the heat of battle, men may experience uncontrolled fury—" going berserk " it is sometimes called—and it is on this type of occasion only that the term " blood-lust," so frequently used by pacifists, is justified. We have already noticed the display of sadism evoked in some men

and women by witnessing prizefights, and we may recall an instance of this effect recorded by St. Augustine. Alypius, a reformed friend of his who had resolved not to go again to the gladiatorial shows, was nevertheless persuaded by some young friends to go to the Amphitheatre one day. He closed his eyes and refused to look at the bloody spectacle, but as soon as he heard the shouts of the spectators he opened them, and

“ Directly he saw the blood he therewith imbibed a sort of savageness, nor did he turn away, but fixed his eye, drinking in madness unconsciously, and was delighted with the guilty contest and drunken with the bloody pastime. He looked, shouted, was excited and carried away with him the madness which would stimulate him to return.” *Confession*.

Bernard Shaw has illustrated the same type in *Androcles and the Lion*, where the Christian soldier finds that “ when the trumpet sounds he cannot follow Jesus,” and rushes into the arena to join the fight.

The incidental character of sadistic outbursts is shown by the fact that the emotion is not strongly evinced between belligerents when they are not actually fighting. We remember that in the first World War fraternisations between men in opposite trenches occurred during lulls, and the same thing is said to have happened on the French frontier in the early months of the present war. Animosity is not usually shown to prisoners of war, and guards often render them little acts of kindness, even at the risk of punishment. Italian prisoners in this country have worked on friendly terms with farmers, and even German airmen who have been shot down during air-raids have been taken in by cottagers and given cups of tea, facts all showing that international animosities have no real basis until they have been deliberately aroused and fomented.

But though sadism may be dismissed as a cause of war, its evocation in battle may clearly be of value. Hitler, that master of applied psychology, knew this and knew that he must encourage sadism in his soldiers by real experiences and not merely by talking of hatred, and he found killing and torturing and insulting Jews ideal for his purpose for, as Valentine has pointed out, the Jew always provides a convenient object of persecution since he is easily identified, exists in sufficient numbers and is adequately scattered. The British Army had no such training, and so far

from being composed of men bursting with sadism it was found not to have sufficient of this delectable quality, and efforts were made to increase it by training in special blood and fury schools. The efforts do not seem to have been successful, possibly because a bladder filled with pig's blood was not found to be an adequate substitute for a Jew. •

• If war offers so much attraction to the suppressed sadist it might be supposed that this character would be prominent in those who join the armed forces voluntarily, and this, Dr. Glover states, actually happens. Speaking of the professional soldier he says :—

“ Like the butcher and the hangman he seeks a professional outlet for his destructive tendencies, secure in the conviction that he is only doing his duty, *i.e.* serving or preserving his King and Country. And in return his sadism is licensed by the War Office. He receives a Baccalaureate from the Royal College of Soldiers and Sailors with the condition attached that he must not practise except under Martial Law.”

But the facts do not support this view. We do not find that the boys in the Army class of a Public School show more sadism than other boys : many are going into the army owing to family influence. Sir Edward Grigg, Under-Secretary of State for War, after pointing out that in peace-time the army offers little chance of a career and in consequence men of brains prefer other professions, continues : “ These facts explain why our Regular officers nearly all come from families with a military tradition. The same is true of the United States in whose army peace-time commissions are largely held by men with some military tradition behind them.” In spite of its sadistic attractiveness there was, in 1937, a shortage of no less than 980 officers for the British Army. As regards private soldiers we know that in peace-time it is difficult to find sufficient men even for the relatively small British Army ; and even if we add all the butchers and hangmen in the country to the numbers in the army, the total of sadists seeking outlet would still be quite a small proportion of the community.

Actually when war breaks out and opportunity for volunteering arises on a large scale, men present themselves for a variety of reasons other than suppressed sadism. Patriotism inspires many, and others see an opportunity for adventure ; vanity, the desire to wear a uniform and share in the glamour which surrounds a soldier at these times is another incentive, a particular type of this

being shown by the old or unfit man who rejoins some auxiliary force well knowing that he cannot perform military duties.¹ Fear of being thought a coward has made many a nervous man join up, strongly against his inclinations. Simple suggestion, the urge to do what others are doing or to join their friends, influences many, and some men of a sensitive and retiring type, conscious of their weakness, deliberately join a Territorial Force in peacetime in the hope, as one of them put it, that "it would make a man of me." An instructive incident from history affords an illustration of the motives which may influence a man to fight, and of the interpretations which may be put on those motives.

Prince Louis Napoleon, who fled to this country from France in 1870, was allowed to accompany the British forces in the Zulu war in 1879, and was killed in Zululand at the age of twenty-three. When the news of his death reached England there were public manifestations of distress; the Court went into mourning and Queen Victoria paid a visit of condolence to his mother. *The Times* published the following eulogy:—

"His many friends must seek some inadequate solace in the knowledge that in his brief life he gained universal esteem, and that he died a soldier's death as became the representative of a warlike family. He was no countryman of ours; but his kindly nature and bright intelligence and a certain 'royal nobleness of spirit' had made him fast friends, and he is mourned to-day as sincerely by Englishmen as if he had been a prince of their own blood. He died, it will ever be remembered by Englishmen, as an English soldier, fighting in a cause which his adventurous spirit had espoused." (21 June, 1879.)

But in a letter to his mother when she sought to dissuade him from going, Prince Louis said:—

"France, I am not forgetting France. It is above all for her sake that I want to go, to let her know at last who I am. . . . They see me always as they saw me over there. Even in the eyes of my followers I am still nothing but a child. They do not heed me; they often do the opposite to what I have advised. Some of them have gone so far as to say that I was a coward. . . . I shall run less risks than you imagine. . . . Why should I come to grief? To stay on here to be

¹ I have had to examine a man who managed five times to get into some form of the armed Forces only to be discharged on the ground of ill-health, and each time he presented himself and lied about his past he thought he was doing a fine thing.

nothing but a claimant, that cannot suffice for me. . . . That is not enough for a Napoleon. When you belong to a race of soldiers you can only make a name sword in hand. The Zululand disaster gives me the opportunity I sought. I shall not let it escape me.”¹

This young Frenchman had no quarrel with the Zulus ; he had never been hurt by a Zulu, and he owed no allegiance to the country which was at war with the Zulus. But in order to increase his esteem in the eyes of the French, which was his real motive in joining the expedition, he had no compunction in killing Zulus. We may reasonably accept the view that he was also finding an outlet for suppressed sadism, but it was not the sadism “uncontrolled by reason or prudence,” which we are told leads to war. It was a cool, calculating, intellectual sadism with a definite purpose other than, or in addition to the gratification of cruelty, as much as are Hitler’s efforts to exterminate the Jews and the Poles.

WAR AND EVOLUTION

There is yet another fallacy connected with war which we must examine. Confusion of war with the biological struggle for existence and the Darwinian theory of survival of the fittest has led some to the belief that war, harsh though it may be for those who wage it, is ultimately beneficial to the human species. This aspect of war has been strongly emphasised in Germany for many years. Writing in 1912 the German General von Bernhardt said, “War is a biological necessity which cannot be dispensed with, since without it an unhealthy development will follow, which excludes every advancement of the race and, therefore, all real civilisation. . . . Without war, inferior or decaying races would easily choke the growth of healthy budding elements and a universal decadence would follow.”²

To take an instance from the present day, here is a passage from Lord Elton’s book *Saint George or the Dragon*, published in 1942 :—

“War, however much we may regret it, is still the supreme agent of the evolutionary process. Blind, brutal and destructive, it remains the final arbiter, the one test mankind has yet

¹ *Eugenie, Empress of the French*. Octave Aubry, translated by F. M. Atkinson, 1939.

² *Germany and the next War*, 1912. Translated by A. H. Powles.

contrived of a nation's fitness to survive. Somewhere within the maniac orgy of destruction a cold scientific process is at work. Despite all its aspirations mankind has never yet succeeded in putting an end to war, for the simple reason that all expedients and substitutes which have so far been improvised from the Grand Design to the League of Nations, have blandly overlooked the necessity, if war is to disappear, of providing some alternative agent of the evolutionary process. With varying degrees of short-sightedness and mental confusion, all our architects of perpetual peace have been primarily interested in stabilising the *status quo*. From first to last what interested the League of Nations, for example, was protection against the aggressor. But as often as not the aggressor represents the forces of evolution. There will never be perpetual peace until we can organise perpetual change. It is the business of an international system, such as the League aspired to be, to provide, not protection against aggression, but a substitute for it. Until that supreme problem has been solved, instead of shelved, peace can only be maintained by some power in possession of overwhelming strength, and whether it is a paramount German *Herrenvolk* or an International Police Force, which exercises it, it will be seeking to stifle the most powerful force in nature. For evolution is growth, evolution is life. . . Evolution is life, and war is still its principal agent, selecting by the most wasteful, yet the most decisive means conceivable, which nation shall survive."

These conceptions attribute to a nation an innate difference from other nations and a continuity of existence which has no biological basis. The struggle for survival which is believed to have played an important part in the process of evolution, is a struggle between different species, or between different individuals within the same species, usually either for food or mates, but there is no struggle in forms below man comparable to war between nations, that is a struggle between *groups* of individuals of the same species. War, like cruelty, is peculiar to man, and there are no grounds for supposing that it is more than a phase in his social development which is itself of so recent an origin compared with his long history on the globe. There is no evidence that the people forming a nation which is beaten in war are inherently inferior or less fitted to survive than their conquerors, nor are there any grounds for supposing that the process is in any way beneficial to the species. Boundaries may be altered but the

people forming the original group do not disappear. The unsoundness of Lord Elton's view is shown by the fact that few wars are simply a trial of strength between two nations. They are fought between groups of nations which precludes the war from being a test of each individual nation's fitness to survive. Moreover, all nations in their history have experienced both victory and defeat, that is at one time have proved their fitness to survive, at another have earned their doom. Germany was defeated in the last war, and according to Lord Elton should not have survived. Italy was one of the victors but has been defeated in the present conflict. No one, however, seems to anticipate the disappearance of either the Italian or German people. The Boers were defeated in the South African war, but they have survived as a people and retain their territorial identity. History has given us many instances of people, from the ancient Greeks onwards, who have been conquered in battle and have survived to conquer their conquerors in the arts of peace and in culture.

CIVIL WAR

The conception of war as a beneficial process bringing about the survival of the better nation breaks down completely when we consider civil war. If war is a result of inherent differences between nations we should expect it to be confined to nations and not to occur between groups of people of the same nation who are admittedly identical except for the matter at issue. Yet many of the bloodiest wars in history have been civil wars. The Greeks and the Romans constantly fought against their compatriots. In our own country the merciless Wars of the Roses depleted the numbers of the English nobility ; Englishmen fought Englishmen in the Parliamentary war and in America, in the War of Independence ; and later, Americans fought Americans with ruthless ferocity in the War of Secession. The French Revolution was a bloody and bitter class war. China, Persia, India and most of the countries of South America have at times been rent by civil war. As recently as 1914 Sir Edward Carson was drilling Irishmen to kill Irishmen, and within a few subsequent years we have seen Russians fighting Russians, Spaniards killing Spaniards in Spain, and massacre or wholesale executions of Germans by Germans.

Individual men have developed wrath against other men who have thwarted or bested them ever since Cain slew his

brother Abel because the Lord preferred the latter's offering of the firstling of his flock and the fat thereof, to Cain's fruit of the ground; and it will be no more possible for individual hatreds to cease than for mountain ranges to exist without valleys. But there is no vestige of an inborn instinct for aggregates of men to attack other aggregates, and the unavoidably acquired tendency to group hostility could readily be controlled by intelligence if men understood its genesis and the ease with which it can be manipulated by interested persons. War is always brought about by one or a few designing men who get their opportunity by leading their fellows to subordinate their intelligence to their emotions. Hitler said in *Mein Kampf* "All propaganda must be presented in popular form and must fix its intellectual level so as not to be above the heads of the least intellectual of those to whom it is directed. Where there is a question of bringing a whole nation within its circle of influence, as happens in the case of war propaganda, then too much attention cannot be paid to the necessity of avoiding a high level." And he proved his terrible words. Without propaganda war would not occur, and it provides the outstanding example of the evils which may be associated with derived emotions.

WAR AS A MANIFESTATION OF DIVINE DISPLEASURE

There is yet another factor claimed in the etiology of war which cannot be disregarded in view of the high authority behind it, but which I do not feel competent to discuss. This factor may best be indicated by the following quotation from the speech made by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords on September 1st, 1939, immediately before the outbreak of war :—

"I cannot close without adding that if in the inscrutable will of Providence the world is to suffer again the scourge of war we ought to regard it as a judgment upon the nations for their manifold neglect of the laws of His Kingdom, and it may be that we ourselves deserve some measure of that judgment. Therefore there is no place in the spirit with which we shall enter upon this struggle, if so it must be, with arrogance or self-righteousness, but rather for penitence."

CHAPTER VIII

THE RELIGIOUS CONFLICT

"Think not that I am come to send peace on earth : I came not to send peace but a sword.

"For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and a daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law.

"And a man's foes shall be those of his own household."

New Testament.

THE beginnings of religious history cannot now be traced, but the earliest records from which reliable inferences can be drawn do not indicate a marked degree of religious intolerance. Broadly speaking each of the early communities had its tribal god or gods and recognised those of neighbouring peoples. When nations went to war their gods helped them, but the people were not particularly concerned to proselytise or to destroy other faiths, and it is significant that in the very wide code of Hammurabi, 2100 B.C., there is no prohibition of the worship of alien deities. At a later date Akenaton, in Egypt (c. 1375 B.C.), destroyed the priests of Amon in the interests of his new religion. Yahveh of the Jews was a "jealous God" and in the Old Testament we find his adherents fighting those of Baal and Dagon. Intolerance, though occasionally displayed, was not characteristic of the Greeks and Romans, and the latter allowed the images of the gods of the tribes they conquered to be placed in the Pantheon at Rome. Christianity and Mahommedanism have been the most intolerant of the great religions. The Gospels record the beginnings of the tragic and recurring conflict between Christian and Jew, and in the Pauline letters group influence is already displaying itself in the differences between the early Christian sects. The succeeding centuries saw the bitter controversies over the Arian and other heresies, marked at intervals by massacres and burnings ; and in later Europe Catholics and Protestants continually attacked each other. The Holy Inquisition tortured and slew thousands, both in the Old World and the New, who were suspected of holding other religious views. Whole communities have been destroyed because of their heretical opinions ; and it has been estimated that a million persons were killed in the massacre of the Albigenses alone. Mahommedanism, itself an offshoot of Christianity and Judaism, destroyed Christianity in vast areas of Asia and North

Africa, and in the crusades the Christians attacked the Mahomedans to rescue the Holy Places from the infidel. In India and the Far East, enmity, at times culminating in violence, has prevailed between Hindus, Mahomedans, Buddhists, Taoists, Confucians, Shintoists and adherents of other faiths. The Jew has been an object of persecution during nearly all his turbulent history.

In this country, there is to-day little religious ill-feeling because of the great predominance of Protestantism, and because there has been no acute dissension between Roman Catholic and Protestant, since the "No Popery" riots of about a century and a half ago. But outside Britain there is much open hostility. In Northern Ireland, where the Roman Catholics form about one-third of the population, ill-feeling at times runs high and reinforces the nationalist antagonism to Eire. In Palestine, the cradle-land of Christianity, hatred between Jew and Moslem Arab has accentuated the economic problem and led to murder, arson and open rebellion despite the fact that the two peoples are ethnologically closely allied. In Burma, in 1939, there were serious riots between Moslems and Buddhists in which over a thousand persons were killed and injured.

It is in India that the most widespread and evil results of religious intolerance are seen to-day. In that vast and varied area there are about 255,500,000 Hindus including some 48,000,000 of the depressed classes, 94,240,000 Moslems, 12,000,000 Buddhists, 7,250,000 Christians and smaller numbers of Sikhs, Jains, Parsis, Jews and others. Hostility between the Hindus and Moslems is of ancient origin. The animosity has tended to increase rather than diminish during the last half century, and to-day it forms the greatest obstacle to peaceful settlement in India and the establishment of self-government. Neither common opposition to the British Government, nor threat of foreign invasion has been able to bring the two bodies together. An attempt to unite Hindus and Moslems in joint action against the British Government, made by a group of Indians in 1921, was shattered by a rising of the Moslem peasantry who burned Hindu villages, sacked temples and massacred the people or attempted their forcible conversion to Islam. Following this violence, sporadic disturbances occurred in many parts of India. During the efforts the British Government made in 1942 to bring about a settlement, at a time when invasion by the Japanese seemed imminent, Mr. Jinnah, the President of the

Moslem League, said that while seeking to be independent of the British, the Moslems would in no circumstances accept a settlement which would bring them under the control of the Hindu majority, and they demanded the formation of a new Moslem state under the name of Pakistan. Indians themselves have expressed the view that if the British Government had acceded to the demands of Congress and removed British control, civil war would have followed.

As with Christianity both Moslemism and Hinduism are themselves liable to internecine hostility. Here, for instance, is an extract from a letter to the Press by a Hindu, Ranjee G. Shahani :—

“We Hindus are sadly divided among ourselves. Take, for example, a recent case. I am referring to the votaries of Vaishnavism. These, though at one on all essential points, are at loggerheads to-day because the two main sects, the Vadagalais and the Thengalais, cannot agree about the right caste-mark ! The first sect holds that it should resemble a ‘U.’ No, retorts the second, it should resemble a ‘Y.’ Each is fully persuaded that its view is the correct one. This difference has led not only to a bitter religious feud, but to violent and bloody fights. Legal battles, costing hundreds of thousands of rupees, have been waged to solve it. All in vain.”¹

And here is an account of a dispute between Moslems :—

“Ten persons have been killed and over 100 injured in communal disturbances at Lucknow. Stray assaults are continuing despite police vigilance, and the promulgation of special orders such as the banning of weapons of all kinds, a curfew, an order for wholesale arrests of suspicious characters, and an elaborate system of police patrols. The affray started with conflicts between Sunnis and Shiahs, two rival Moslem sects, and several areas were affected.”²

One more instance of the harm done in international relations by religious differences is given in the following extract from *The Times* of September 26th, 1942, from their special correspondent in Istanbul, following a statement by Sir Samuel Hoare that the issues of the war are “the Establishment of Christian Civilisation and Christian Brotherhood.”

¹ *Spectator*, May 31st, 1940.

² *Sunday Times*, May 23rd, 1937.

"The speech last week of Sir Samuel Hoare is commented on by the Turkish Press with some acerbity. The newspapers object to the suggestion that the post-war settlement should be based on a revival of Christian brotherhood. Interpreting the suggestion literally, they see in it an attempt to revive old religious prejudices and to place non-Christian peoples on a lower level."

The writer of this interesting report seems to suggest that the word "Christian" should not be taken literally, but eminent ecclesiastics have constantly made it clear that "Christian" means the Christian Faith and not merely a system of ethics.

This very brief survey of religious dissensions serves to demonstrate the evil of intolerance, and the object of this chapter is to show that religious differences afford no more a real cause for hostility than do national differences for international war; that religious emotion has no instinctive basis and appeared relatively late in human history; and that it is a derived emotion with no foundation in any specific human attribute.

A DEFINITION OF RELIGION

In view of the protean manifestations of religious feeling and of the very varied meanings and scope which have been given to the word by different writers, it is necessary for the purposes of this book to say what is here understood by religion. The essence of religion is an emotional belief in a supernatural power which can influence the believer's destiny, strong enough to affect his conduct. A system of beliefs without emotion amounts to no more than belief in a form of cosmogony. It is emotion which gives force and activity to a religion, just as patriotism gives strength to nationalism. In all countries there are many people who, having been taught certain beliefs at school as historic facts, continue to accept them just as they accept on trust other statements such as the existence of Jupiter's satellites, which they have not verified for themselves, but to whom religion is a matter of complete indifference, and on whose conduct it has no influence. If religion had no deeper hold than this on men, they would never fight over their different faiths any more than they would over nationality in the absence of patriotism.

In addition to an emotional basis a religion must have a body of adherents with a collective consciousness and an organisa-

tion, which implies a hierarchy. A belief in a supernatural power alone, even though held by many individuals, does not constitute a religion. The emotions which stimulate the act of bowing to the new moon and that of bowing to an altar ; or throwing a pinch of salt over the left shoulder and making the sign of the Cross with holy water, are fundamentally the same—the desire to avert evil ; but one set of actions is merely that of a number of individuals whom we describe as “superstitious” ; the other is part of an organised religion. It is these two attributes, emotional force and collective consciousness, which give a religion its power.

RELIGION NOT INSTINCTIVE

Because nearly all peoples from antiquity onwards have manifested emotions and beliefs which are regarded as religious, the claim is constantly made that religion has an instinctive basis, despite the fact that quite obviously the tenets of all religions must be taught afresh to each generation. What appears usually to be meant by the claim is that the instinct is shown not by the particular beliefs but by the desires and emotions underlying those beliefs. This view has been very clearly expressed by J. A. Spender, who says :—

“ If anything can be said to have been implanted in man, when we look back on his origins, it is the sense of something outside himself, whether personalities or powers, to which he is beholden, which he may offend, which he must try to propitiate. Almost without exception this is accompanied by a belief in a spirit world supposed to be the dwelling-place of ancestors, and the future habitation of the living. This instinct, intuition, or whatever we may call it, which is the stuff of all religions, has been one of the main dividing lines between man and the beasts of the field as far back as we can trace his history. It has been said, and I think with truth, that the greatest of all evidences of the reality of religion is the witness which, in this sense, it bears to itself. There has never been a time when man is not seen stretching out hands to some farther shore, wherever or whatever it may be.

“ Let me add as a last word that I am not in the least abashed when my friends call me a mystic, to confess that I believe that they and I will, in some sense, survive the death of the body and remain a part of the universe into which we

have been born and indissolubly associated. I hold this to be a rational and scientific belief.”¹

The belief that there is a religious instinct or intuition in mankind amounts to an admission that all religions are fundamentally the same, that they all express the same ultimate needs of mankind, and that their differences are merely differences in the outward expression of those needs. Such a conception of religion has a large element of truth in it, but it means no more than that man is an emotional organism. The assemblage of beliefs and rituals which constitutes a religion is usually so wide as to afford expression for every emotional need : love, hope, joy, may find an outlet, grief may be assuaged, fear removed, and even sadism and aggression may obtain symbolic relief within its fold. The beliefs affording these opportunities vary widely, but they give expression to the common emotions of humanity, and there is no need to take them as evidence of a specific religious instinct.

The general acceptance of the view that all religions meet the same fundamental needs, one which many ecclesiastics themselves have held, would probably not lessen religious hostility, since it is over their differences of doctrine and ritual, often seemingly trivial to the non-believer, that men have fought so bitterly from the time of the Arian heresy onwards. St. Paul identified “the Unknown God” with his God, but to-day Protestant and Roman Catholic children in England must go to different schools. The Roman Catholic confesses his sins to a priest, the member of the Oxford Group to his co-religionists, and the Anglican goes to his church and proclaims himself to be a “miserable sinner.” All three are animated by the same urge, desire to find relief from a sense of guilt, but the Roman Catholic would be scandalised by being asked to confess to a layman or to a room full of people, and the adherent of the Oxford Group would not recognise special status in a tonsured priest. Whatever the common basis claimed for religions, the group influence in the emotion is always very prominent.

There are other arguments against the existence of a religious instinct. In the quotation from J. A. Spender a religious instinct is said to have been present in man “as far back as we can trace his history.” But this is incorrect. It is a remarkable fact that in all the long ages of early man, though great numbers of his

¹ *Between Two Wars*. J. A. Spender, 1943.

caves and sites have been explored, and much of his domestic life has been reconstructed from his weapons, implements of various sorts, pottery and drawings of animals and hunting scenes on bones and ivory, nothing has been found indicative of religious observances ; neither altars nor symbols nor representations of a deity. The most that can be said is that figures of animals in the recesses of caves may have had a magical significance, and certain figures of men may have been the equivalents of the " medicine-man " of more modern times. Not until just before the dawn of the historic period do we find the menhirs and stone circles which may have had a religious significance, but even of these we do not know the real function. In some later graves we find pottery and implements which suggest a belief that they may still be of use to their owner, but belief in the continuance of life does not by itself constitute a religion. Even in the earliest historic period there does not seem to be evidence of belief in a Deity. Sir Leonard Woolley, in his account of the excavation of the famous royal tombs at Ur, of about 3500 B.C. (v. p. 39), makes the following interesting comment :—

" The provision made for the dead seems clearly to prove a belief in a future life of some sort ; but there is nothing found which expressly defines such belief ; in no single grave has there been any figure of a god, any symbol or ornament that strikes one as being of a religious nature ; the dead man took with him what he might require for a journey to or for a sojourn in another world, but what he thought about the world to which he was going nothing tells us." ¹

As in addition to his numerous attendants the King took with him in his tomb his sledge, chariot, harp, tools, weapons of all sorts, cups, beads, ornaments and models of boats, it is permissible to assume that he would also have taken articles of religious significance if he had had them. Even in the much later tomb of Tutankhamen (1360 B.C.) the ample supplies of food and other necessities show the concern to provide for a material future. Many graves of the iron age, excavated at Maiden Castle and elsewhere (c. 300 B.C. and later) contained food vessels or remains of food, but no evidence of a religious cult.

These facts tell strongly against the existence of a religious instinct. As was pointed out when considering family and herd

¹ *Ur of the Chaldees*, 1929.

instincts, man most needed the aid of instinct in his earliest stages, those of Piltown and Neanderthal, and as his evolution progressed he became less and less dependent upon instinct and more and more upon intelligence. If religion were instinctive, evidence of religious practices would become progressively greater as we proceed backwards ; on the other hand, if it is a product of social evolution its evidences would tend to become greater as society develops, and this is what is found. So far from religion being a primitive trait, it is abundantly clear that by the time man had reached a stage in his evolution when he could conceive of good and evil spirits and of the possibility of propitiating them, he was possessed of an intelligence which superseded instincts ; and it is equally clear that, as with patriotism, an organised religion could not have come into existence until a material degree of social development had been reached.

The evidence of early belief in a future life also suggests an origin for religion which seems to me on psychological grounds more probable than the belief in a vital power, termed by anthropologists *mana*¹ ; or the earlier theory of *animism*, that is the practice of peopling streams, hills, trees, etc., with good or evil spirits, for both these conceptions represent an advanced capacity for thought. Primitive man, as soon as he realised that death was something unpleasant, simply denied its occurrence, thus taking a step of the type still frequently adopted by his descendants when confronted with a disagreeable fact. Having decided that life continued, and would be as much as possible like the life he knew, it was important to make preparation for it by taking with him the various possessions he would need. A king would do this on a lavish scale. The next step was to appoint certain persons to carry out his wishes since he knew that though not dead, he would be powerless to act for himself, and thus a priesthood arose. As the king continued to live, though changed in some mysterious way, he still had power to influence the community, hence he was to be revered and his ordinances obeyed, *i.e.*, he became a God. The priests were able to communicate with the absent ruler, ascertain his wishes and intercede with him on behalf of the community. Reluctance to face the fact of death, leading to belief in a future life, was probably the

¹ Dr. Gilbert Murray defines Mana as "that primitive word which comprises force, vitality, prestige, holiness, and power of magic, and may belong equally to a lion, a chief, a medicine-man or a battle-axe." *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, 1925.

foundation of religion with primitive man as much as it is with his successor to-day. "Grant us in the world to come life everlasting," says the Prayer Book, and belief that the prayer will be answered has sustained and soothed many persons.¹ We see this primitive attitude also displayed by many spiritualists who in their seances are obviously much more eager to get in touch with the departed, which has the effect of assuring them of a future life, than to establish contact with or show reverence for a Deity.

RELIGION BASED ON DERIVED EMOTION

Not only is there no historical evidence of religious emotion being instinctive but it clearly exhibits all the characteristics of a derived emotion. The family influence is very obvious. The Deity is spoken of as the "Father" and is represented by some aspect of the terrestrial father, with the omnipotence and omniscience which the child attributes to the father. Where there is a female figure in the divine assemblage she is frequently represented as the mother with the infant in her arms; where there is no such figure, one aspect of the male god assigns to him the female characters of gentleness and loving care, even to taking children to his "bosom." The popular conception of Heaven is that of the loving father of childhood surrounded by his happy family.

The group influence is also strong and clear in religion. Within a nominal unity, allegiance is nearly always felt first and most powerfully towards the group which was associated with childhood. Christianity, nominally one faith, is divided and subdivided into sects differing in dogma and ritual, which at the best are politely tolerant of each other and may be acutely hostile. The Roman Catholic and the Protestant, when seeking religious ministrations, goes each to his own place of worship and his own type of priest, and if for any reason these were not available neither would be likely to turn to those of the other denomination for help. Within the Protestant denomination there are many

¹ The following instance, as it led to some controversy, may be quoted:—The Marchioness of Lothian (who mentioned that she was twenty-one years of age) when replying to criticisms of an article she had written entitled *Youth's Solution*, said—"Mr. Rumbold has given me from the non-Christian angle a very fair criticism of my article, but I very much doubt whether from either of his alternative solutions to Christianity we of the 'submerged' generation could draw the same strength to face death or the satisfaction to our intimations of immortality without which it is difficult to face life." *Spectator*, September 24, 1943.

groups, Anglo-Catholic, Salvation Army, Methodist (several varieties), Congregationalists, Baptists, the Episcopal Church in Scotland, the Church in Wales, and others. The Society of Friends, Christian Scientists, Unitarians are other groups, and recent additions are the Buchmanites and Jehovah's Witnesses. The beliefs and ceremonies of these groups differ widely and each group clings to its own tenets with fanatical zeal.¹

The desire to impress the young which is so characteristic of those propagating a derived emotion, is shown by the efforts not only of each faith but of each denomination to secure the teaching of its special beliefs in the schools, some denominations preferring no religious teaching at all to that of a rival sect. We shall return to this subject when considering education.

MISREPRESENTATION IN RELIGION

Finally, we see in religion that tendency to misrepresentation which is regarded as permissible in the interests of a derived emotion. This is chiefly displayed in distorting history so as to give an impression that the historical evidence for Christianity is much stronger than it really is. Writers on Christian history are well aware of the extreme tenuousness of the historical evidence for the Gospel story, and in their writings and among themselves ecclesiastics permit a wide latitude of belief as to the occurrence of many incidents which to the uninstructed layman appear fundamental to the religion. The *Report on Doctrine in the Church of England*, issued in 1938 by the Commission appointed by the Archbishops, reveals not only a diversity of belief but a permissiveness of interpretation which is astonishing. But doubts and uncertainties are never allowed to appear in public services and addresses. The Churches still read and quote from translations of the Bible which are admittedly incorrect and obsolete as historical sources, while details of the life of Christ are taught

¹ The following instance of sectarian intolerance is quoted from *The Times* of November 18th, 1943 :—"PROTEST BY FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. Because Sir William Darling, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, attended in his official capacity pontifical High Mass at Edinburgh Roman Catholic Cathedral on Sunday, October 31, the Commission of Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland in Edinburgh yesterday approved a resolution strongly protesting against 'so retrograde an action, which involved the countenancing of medieval superstition and gross idolatry.' The Rev. Professor A. Ross said that they made the protest because they were patriotic Scotsmen who were keenly alive to certain perils which confronted Protestant Scotland in these days. This was the first time since the Reformation that a civic head of the Protestant capital of Scotland had attended such a service."

in the schools and repeated in services at Christmas and Easter as though they were as firmly established and documented as recent secular history. Since it is the emotional element in religion which is of so transcendent an importance, the disregard of historical accuracy in support of that element is not considered improper.

Nevertheless the Archbishops' Committee clearly found themselves in some difficulty in the matter. They say "Because Christianity is supremely a historical religion, its classical Scriptures have a position that nothing else can challenge. Scriptural phrases and images have, therefore, peculiar authority for the Church." But the Committee recognise that "in some cases these phrases seem unnatural in the present day," and "in some cases the use of traditional phrases is censured as dishonest." Nevertheless the Committee defend the use of such phrases on the ground that they contain "a core of identical meaning," and they illustrate this by the example "everyone speaks of sunrise and sunset without feeling committed to a geocentric astronomy or feeling guilty of dishonesty." But in giving this rather infelicitous illustration the Committee overlooked the fact that the Church is no longer concerned to make the relative movements of the earth and the sun a matter of faith. When Galileo made the equivalent statement that the earth moves round the sun he committed a sin, and was condemned by the Inquisition and forced to recant; to-day anyone who chose to speak of "earthrise" and "earthset" would not be punished but would be merely regarded as eccentric. There are many traditional phrases in Scripture which retain their sacred and emotional affect, and to put some of these into modern form might well be held to constitute blasphemy, still a criminal offence in England.

In speaking of the Creeds the Committee say "the purpose of credal statements is to affirm the truths on which the Gospel of the Church and the religious life of Christians are based. It is not their purpose to affirm either historical facts or metaphysical truths merely as such." The distinction between the truths on which the Gospel is based and historical facts seems somewhat subtle to the lay mind, but the Committee find themselves able to regard every clause in the Creeds as of necessity "symbolic," and they continue, "It is not therefore of necessity illegitimate to accept and affirm particular clauses in the Creeds while

understanding them in this symbolic sense.”¹ This phrase is no doubt convenient and acceptable to adults, but a questioning child might find it difficult to grasp the difference between ordinary truth and “symbolic” truth. The Cambridgeshire Syllabus specifically mentions miracles to be taught to children, but if a child asked if Jesus really did walk on the sea, it would appear from the discussion on miracles later in the volume, that the only truthful answer a teacher can give is that the event “may be considered as a sign or symbol of a truth beyond the action itself,” or that it presents a “philosophical problem.” Children are taught that Easter is the anniversary of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, but it is not usual to explain to them why its date may vary within a period of three weeks.

RELIGION AND NATIONALISM

A religion takes no cognisance of national boundaries, and the Christian Church claims authority for its faith over the whole world, in temporal as well as spiritual matters. A manifesto, issued in 1939 by the World Council of Churches, and signed by the Archbishop of York, is unequivocal. It states :—

“The Christian Faith is the practice of obedience to Jesus Christ, who is the Messiah of Israel. ‘Salvation is of the Jews.’ The Gospel of Jesus Christ is the fulfilment of the Jewish hope. The Christian Church owes it therefore to the Jewish people to proclaim to it the fulfilment of the promises which had been made to it. And it rejoices in maintaining fellowship with those of the Jewish race who have accepted that Gospel.”

“The Church of Christ owes its allegiance to Jesus Christ alone, and the right distinction and relationship between politics and ideology on the one hand and the Christian faith on the other hand is therefore one which serves to make clear that to Jesus Christ is given, not merely some, but all authority in heaven and earth, and that the Church is bound to proclaim

¹ Nevertheless the Bishop of Ely writes :—“Nor should it be supposed that these historical clauses of the Creed are unimportant. If our Lord’s body saw corruption in the grave, then the Church has no right to proclaim His Resurrection on the third day ; and, as St. Paul said : ‘If Christ hath not been raised then is our preaching vain, your faith also is vain.’ Again, I have grave doubts whether belief in the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation would long survive the abandonment of belief in the Virgin Birth of Our Lord. Christianity is an historical religion ; it is based on events in history, and if these events did not occur, the whole foundation of Christianity is imperilled.” Quoted in *The Times*, February 27th, 1939.

His Lordship over all areas of life including politics and ideology."

"The only form of order and tolerance which can be accepted by the Christian Church must be based on the acknowledgement of the unique revelation offered to the world in Jesus Christ and the full freedom to proclaim his Gospel."¹

But while a faith as a whole takes no cognisance of territorial divisions, the establishment of a *national* Church creates a new type of division which has a lively relation to geographical boundaries and brings with it very special duties and obligations. From this a number of interesting developments follow.

In the first place the particular branch of the faith to which the National Church happens to belong (*e.g.*, Protestant in England, Roman Catholic in Spain) acquires in the eyes of the people an importance out of proportion to its position in the religion as a whole. When the average Englishman speaks of "Christianity" he is probably thinking of Protestantism, and has a picture of his Parish Church and his Bishops and Archbishops in his mind. He does not realise that the Protestant branch of Christianity forms considerably less than one-third of the Christian population of the world, and that, since Roman Catholics constitute by far the largest section of the total, "Christianity," without further qualification, should mean Roman Catholicism. Nor probably does he realise that when his statesmen assert that the war is being fought to defend Christianity, they are supporting a form of Christianity the adherents of which were not allowed to sit in the British Parliament until 1839 and to whose schools, if he is a Protestant, he almost certainly would not send his children. No attempt is made in English schools to give an accurate picture of Christianity as a whole. I have before me *The Cambridgeshire Syllabus of Religious Teaching in Schools*, published in 1939, which speaks throughout of "the Christian Faith" and "Christianity," but gives the Protestant picture, the existence of other branches of Christianity not even being mentioned. When I turn to a similar book for Roman Catholic children I find a picture so widely different that it seems almost to relate to another religion, yet it, too, is throughout called "Christianity." The proportion of Roman Catholics in the English population is too small to disturb the impression taught to most children that Christianity means Protestantism,

¹ *The Times*, May 10th, 1939.

and the practice of equating Christianity with Protestantism undoubtedly has a misleading effect in the general community. We recall the sympathy which the British Government showed towards the rebels in the Spanish civil war, but it is doubtful whether Lord Halifax's words when he spoke of General Franco as "a great Christian gentleman" would have carried the same weight if he had described him as "a great Roman Catholic gentleman."

Another result of a National Church is to create difficulties in dealing with peoples or nations of other faiths—or of no faith. The British Empire contains vast numbers of Hindus, Moslems, Buddhists, Jews and adherents of other non-Christian faiths, and it has been estimated that only 15 per cent. of the population of the Empire is Christian, yet the British Sovereign must by law be not only a Christian but a Protestant, and he is also Emperor of India, a country which contains less than 2 per cent. of Christians. British statesmen constantly assert that the war is being fought in defence of Christianity. Here, for instance, is an extract from a speech by Lord Halifax, who was Viceroy of India from 1926 to 1931 and Foreign Secretary from 1938 to 1940 :—

"Although we see the war as one of liberation for the enslaved peoples, we also see it as a struggle to keep open the road from a Christian past to a more Christian future. We know that stripped of the accidents which have brought this or that nation into war, the real issue for us is whether Christianity and all that it means is to survive."

"It may be that some would think that an overstatement. We have not always considered what Christianity implies or remembered that nearly everything of value in our lives has a Christian ancestry. Yet however careless we may have been we have never turned our backs upon our Christian inheritance nor shall we do so now."¹

It is pertinent to recall that this speech was made at a time when Britain was fighting in alliance with China, which is preponderantly Buddhist, was associated with various Moslem peoples, and was striving to cope with a non-Christian India, sullenly resentful of British rule. We have already noted the unhappy effect produced in Turkey by a similar speech of Sir Samuel Hoare. Professor Chou, the Director in Australia of the Chinese Ministry of Information, has remarked that "when high church

¹ *The Times*, September 21st, 1942.

dignitaries proclaim that the war is to save Christian civilisation, they forget that 450,000,000 Chinese and millions of Hindus and Moslems have ideals of their own.”¹

A conspicuous instance of the influence the religion of a country can exercise on its foreign relations was afforded by the attack of the British Churches on the Soviet Union in the years following the revolution. The Bolshevik Government was fiercely assailed for its “godlessness,” and stories of the persecution of priests and closing of churches were circulated, many of which were shown later to be fabrications or gross exaggerations.²

Probably the high ecclesiastical dignitaries in this country did not realise the effect their reckless assertions were having on the people in Soviet Russia, but one of the most astonishing experiences of those who visited the Soviet Union during the years before the second world war was to discover the profound suspicion held of Britain, and the convinced belief of all classes, workers, teachers, doctors and scientists, that sooner or later the British, who had attacked once, would attack the Union again. The hostility of the British Churches was maintained even when war threatened. In March, 1939, the Archbishop of Canterbury said “The Dominions are at our side ; France is assured ; what of Russia ? I confess that there are many to whom co-operation with Soviet Russia is difficult, but when supreme issues are concerned we must be ready to accept help from whatever quarter it comes.” The Catholic Church was equally vigorous in its condemnation. In April, 1939, *The Catholic Times* published an article with the headlines “STOP THE ALLIANCE WITH ATHEIST DICTATORSHIP” and stated that Roman Catholics would refuse to fight with such an ally. The article also quoted the words of the Bishop of Buffalo, U.S.A. : “I say publicly that if the United States ever joined in a foreign war with Russia as an ally I would advise every Catholic boy to refuse to serve for the United States.” It was in this atmosphere that, in the early months of 1939, the British Government sent an official of the Foreign Office to Russia to negotiate a treaty of mutual defence, and it can scarcely be doubted that the hostile attitude of the British Churches was a factor leading to the failure of the negotiations. The animosity thus excited against the Soviet Union was an entirely derived

¹ *The Times*, May 5th, 1944.

² In 1931 I was in churches in both Leningrad and Moscow, with crowded congregations and priests officiating in resplendent robes, when English newspapers were asserting that no religious services were allowed in the Soviet Union.

emotion, for Russia had never done any harm to Britain and up to the revolution had been her ally in war. There was nothing material to separate the two countries, and the British Government, in maintaining its unfriendly attitude to the Soviet Union in deference to religious and class interests, instead of showing sympathy with the young republic struggling for liberty, probably lost one of the best opportunities ever presented to it of forwarding international peace.

RELIGION AND PATRIOTISM

A free or non-established Church has duties only to the individual or body of individuals who voluntarily agree to accept its ordinances, but the obligations of a National Church affect all members of the State though some of these belong to other faiths. The first national duty of an established Church is to invoke Divine assistance in the support and defence of the State against its enemies, even though in time of war this may involve encouraging active steps against another nation of the same faith. This duty extends to internal as well as external enemies, which is one reason why National Churches are always strongly opposed to revolutionary movements. As we have seen, the conception of a Deity probably arose from belief in the continuing power of a departed monarch, and in early societies the king himself discharged many of the functions of the Chief Priest. The divine aspect of kingship has never been lost, and in this country the king is the head of the Church, as in Russia the Tsar was the head of the Holy Synod. In return for assistance the king defends the National Church, and in Britain he carries the title of "Defender of the Faith."

Its protective function makes it essential that the National Church should be outstandingly patriotic, and always closely associated with the national figures and emblems. The Church of England crowns the king and takes part in national ceremonies ; it blesses the flags of the king's armies and christens his ships of war ; it prays for the success of his soldiers on the field of battle, and conducts, on command of the king, "Days of Humiliation" or "Days of Prayer" during a war, and "Days of National Thanksgiving" in acknowledgement of victory. The Roman Catholic Church discharges similar functions in Catholic countries. The Pope ordered High Mass to celebrate the Italian conquest of Abyssinia ; and in Spain the first act of the Catholic

Church after the fall of Madrid was to celebrate Mass in the public square, while the Pope gave General Franco's Government his blessing. When Mussolini attacked France the Italian Church enthusiastically supported him. "Cardinals, Bishops and priests were soon busy arousing enthusiasm for the war, pinning medals and bestowing blessings on soldiers. Thirty Italian Bishops sent Mussolini a telegram urging him 'to crown the unfailing victory of our army by planting the Italian flag over the Holy Sepulchre.'"¹

Another point of resemblance between religious emotion and patriotism is the popular view that it is much worse to have no religion than to belong to another faith. "Atheist" has become a term of reproach, the resentment felt to the godless man being closely akin to that felt towards the communist, the unpatriotic man who would take all meaning out of nationality. The Soviet Union excited opposition to itself both on the grounds of its godlessness and its internationalism. The fear aroused by the spread of rationalism received an illustration, in 1938, in the efforts which were made to stop the International Congress of Freethinkers from being held in London. Cardinal Hinsley wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare, the Home Secretary, asking him to prevent it, and the latter replied that while he strongly deplored the holding of the Congress, "the organisers of which hold and propagate beliefs repugnant to the sentiments of the great mass of Christian people in this country" and was "in fullest sympathy with the Cardinal's request," he regretted that he had no power to prevent the Congress being held. Subsequently a Bill was introduced in the House of Commons to prevent the entry into the country of foreign delegates to the Congress, which, though rejected, received the support of 170 members. The same attitude was shown to Army recruits who on joining wished to describe themselves as "Freethinker," "Agnostic" or "Atheist." Efforts were frequently made to induce these men to record themselves as adherents of some recognised denomination until Parliamentary attention was called to the practice.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A CHURCH THE BASIS OF RESENTMENT

It is the fact that a Church is established and thus placed in a privileged position, which arouses the suspicion or fear of

¹ *What to Do with Italy*. Salvemini, 1943, quoted from *New York Herald Tribune*.

other faiths. Individual Jews, Protestants and Roman Catholics can live together in this country on terms of normal friendship, as can individual Hindus, Moslems and members of other different faiths elsewhere, but a State religion is in a position to exercise coercion.

The claim of Churches to interfere with the material affairs of men has been a source of dissension in religion from the days when Annanias suffered death for denying that he had kept back a part of the price of his field, to the payment of tithes in our time. It is the temporal power which the Moslems dread if the Hindu Congress were to rule India ; it was the temporal power which gave all the strength to Roman Catholic and Protestant hostility, and one of the counts against the Jew is his alleged control of "international finance." If all religious privileges were abolished, and all religions treated alike so that the influence of each depended solely on its persuasive or spiritual power, much of the hostility between religions would disappear. Animosity would be transferred from the mass to individuals, between whom it would be much less dangerous.

The ascription of a soul to a nation which is implied by a State religion is, of course, as illogical and as harmful as is crediting it with the capacity to be honoured or disgraced, and is part of the illusory process of personification which we have already examined. National Churches were not established out of concern for the spiritual interests of the people ; they came into existence as result of various historical events, in which one of perhaps several competing groups acquired a privileged position and succeeded in maintaining it through later generations. The Church of England owes its origin not to Henry VIII's solicitude for the spiritual welfare of the people but to his quarrel with the Pope over his divorce ; Ireland, which was then a separate country, was unaffected, consequently Roman Catholicism is the State religion of Eire to-day.

THE INSINGERITY OF A NATIONAL CHURCH

The inconsistency between the professions and the practice of a faith is well shown by the attitudes of past and present British Governments to India. A measure of British control has existed in India for 150 years, and since the Act of 1858 Britain has been the supreme power in British India, but no British Government has at any time taken any effective steps to solve

the age-long conflict between Hindu and Moslem by converting them both to Christianity. Britain is called a Christian country and its statesmen have constantly asserted their desire to strengthen and extend Christianity ; the Emperor of India is the Head of the Church of England, and conversion of the heathen has always been stated to be a prominent object, even a duty of Christianity. Logically, therefore, British Governments should have taken all possible steps to convert the Indians to Christianity. They have always insisted upon the great importance of teaching Christianity in the State-supported schools of Britain, and if they consider this necessary in order to save the souls of British children they have an equal obligation to Indian children. But the British Governments did not do this ; they left the work of conversion to the missionaries, and to-day native Christians form less than 2 per cent. of the population. Indeed, so far from assisting the Christian missionaries, British rule has actually helped to maintain the heathen religions by the respect it has shown to them and the concern it has displayed to enable them to observe their rites and ceremonies so long as these are conducted peacefully. Hindu, Moslem and Buddhist men and women have been appointed to high legal, legislative and administrative posts. Orders of Chivalry have been conferred upon them. They enter the learned professions in this country and may be appointed professors and lecturers at our Universities. Some of them are well-known members of "society," are married to English wives and play prominent parts in British sport. No efforts are made to show these distinguished persons the errors of their religious beliefs, missionary activity being confined to the poor and ignorant. Yet differences in the same beliefs in the uncultured classes lead to violence and bloodshed.

The reason for the toleration exhibited by the lettered is that the leaders and teachers of the great religions know well that they all have a common basis, and that it is impossible to attack one religion by intellectual argument without attacking all. Researches of sociologists and psychologists have combined to show that the impulses which lead men to seek help from a supernatural source are the same everywhere, whatever may be the outward expression of these impulses and the methods adopted to satisfy them. It is impossible now for Christianity to assail another religious faith on the ground that its practices are superstitious without inviting the retort that it is in the same position, while its historical

foundations have been undermined in every direction, not by atheists and agnostics and Freethought Congresses, but by high dignitaries of the Churches and Professors of Divinity and History. In their precarious position, therefore, it behoves the Churches to walk warily when attacking other beliefs on the intellectual side. A very wide measure of tolerance has been found unavoidable even within each sect of the Christian faith; and an equally wide tolerance is in practice shown to-day by hierarchies towards each other however great may be their theoretical differences. On occasions the Archbishops of the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Cardinal and the Chief Rabbi jointly sign letters to *The Times* and appear on the same public platform.

It is the observance of this religious toleration which precludes the British Government from proposing the only solution which will bring peace to India, the establishment of a purely secular Government whose function in the religious sphere would be simply to maintain order, all religions being equally free to follow their own observances and none having any special privilege. Bound by its own principles, by the very importance it attaches to a State religion, the British Government finds itself in the position of having to deal in a matter affecting many millions of people with a man whose conception of morality justifies him in nearly starving himself to death in order to obtain his wishes. In these circumstances the British Government can do no more than impotently watch the conflict, throwing the responsibility back upon the Indians, while retaining the temporal power in its own hands.

There are many educated and intelligent Indians who recognise the absurdity and evil of interreligious warfare, and would willingly accept a regime of universal tolerance and equality, but these people have no inducement to declare themselves, or to advocate a course which would undoubtedly be unpopular at first, in the absence of any lead or encouragement from more advanced countries. The religious conflict in India resembles in many respects that in England in the sixteenth century, and there it was some two and a half centuries before all the disabilities imposed on Roman Catholics, Nonconformists and Jews were removed, the Established Church, however, still retaining its privileged position in its corporate capacity. A similar long period of dissension may be before India unless the progress of

toleration can be hastened. This can only be done by the example and influence of more advanced countries, and Britain is in the best position to do that. A God whose first ordinance to his people is "Thou shalt have none other Gods but me" is unsuited to be the tutelary Deity of an assemblage so diversified in faiths as the British Empire. Remote as the connection may at first appear, disestablishment of the Church of England, by completing religious equality and demonstrating that in the eyes of the State a man's religion is everywhere his own private affair, might prove to be the first step towards bringing permanent peace to the dissonant factions in India.

THE JEW

We will conclude this chapter by considering one of the outstanding examples of the evil man has brought upon himself by his misinterpretation of his environment. The Jew has been persecuted at different times in almost every country in Europe, and to-day his sufferings are probably greater than they have been at any time in his history. The persecutions have been on two grounds, race and religion, and neither of them has any inherent or biological foundation. There is no more a Jewish race than there is a Christian race or a Moslem race; there is only a Jewish religion. But because a material proportion of the Jews were derived from Semitic peoples, all Jews have been identified with these peoples, though clearly many have other origins and many are indistinguishable from ordinary Europeans. The Semitic peoples are those inhabiting mainly eastern Asia and north-west and northern Africa, and if the misleading word "race" be applied to them it means no more than that the bulk of the people exhibit those superficial differences of physiognomy to which such exaggerated importance has been attached, and which, when seen in one of the Jewish faith, leads to his being described as a "typical Jew." The "Semitic" race is only a broad generalisation, and it can be no more closely defined than can be the "Nordic" or "Mediterranean" races. It includes people who in the past have held various religious beliefs, and in their original habitat are now mainly Moslem.

The usual result when dissimilar peoples are brought in contact by invasion or migration is for them to merge or for one slowly to absorb the other, as happened to a large extent with the Moors in Spain and the Red Indians in America; South

America is essentially a land of hybrids, and even in the United States, where race prejudice has been so bitter, absorption of the negro is steadily progressing. Fusion of different cultures, as those of the Normans and Saxons in this country, has often occurred. There is no doubt that absorption has taken place to a considerable extent with the Jews, for it is not rare to meet persons showing "typical" Jewish physiognomies who have no Jewish associations and are unaware of any Jewish ancestry; on the other hand, we find persons who might have been born in any part of the British Isles bearing Jewish surnames. There is also another group who do not conceal the fact that they or their predecessors professed the Jewish faith, but who, having dropped their religion or become converted, are accepted as any other members of the community. For it is not any "racial" characteristics which have kept the Jews isolated but their religion. The Jews, though no longer proclaiming themselves to be the "chosen people of God" as did their remote progenitors with such terrible results, still largely isolate themselves from the rest of the community. They have their own rites and ceremonies and places of worship, they discourage marriage with those of other beliefs, and they tend to congregate in certain areas. It is this tendency to separateness shown by the Jew which makes him so readily an object for a display of xenophobia, but it must, of course, be recognised that a considerable amount of it is thrust upon him.

There is only one solution of the Jewish problem and that is to be found in the lessening and eventual disappearance of all religious hostility, a condition which will only be arrived at when States as such have ceased to concern themselves in any way with religion, and the superficiality of the racial conception has been generally realised. The attempt after the first World War to reconstitute a Jewish nation in Palestine was a retrograde step which is bound to fail, or to give rise to continuing animosity, just as did the attempt in the Treaty of Versailles to rebuild Europe on a "racial" basis which equally had no real foundation. These are efforts not only to reverse the constant trend of social history, but to defeat the inexorable processes of biological evolution which insistently demand the mixing of peoples or the disappearance of any group which refuses to mix. The Jew himself can assist this process of absorption by ceasing to attach importance to those elements in his isolation which are

not enjoined upon him by his faith, particularly his dislike of intermarriage. In striving to maintain his exclusiveness in the last respect the Jew is setting himself against the practice of exogamy which has been followed by almost every tribal group.

We have in this chapter noticed the close association between religion and patriotism, and we have now to examine the parts played by both these emotions in the class conflict.

CHAPTER IX

THE CLASS CONFLICT

"He told me that Money purchased Titles of Honour in almost all parts of the World ; though Money could not give Principles of Honour, they must come by Birth and Blood ; that however, Titles sometimes assist to elevate the Soul and to infuse generous principles into the Mind."

Roxana ; or the Fortunate Mistress. Defoe.

THE class conflict is broadly that between the "haves" and the "have-nots," but the division is not exclusively one of possessions ; other elements differentiate the contestants, the most important being that quality of composite origin which we term "prestige." Wealth without prestige is deprived of some of its power, and prestige in the absence of wealth may exercise considerable influence. Usually the two are found together and it is then that their effect is greatest.

The class conflict in its economic aspect expresses itself openly by strikes and lock-outs in democratic countries, and by civil war in autocratic countries, which may result from the masses rising against the governing aristocrats as they did in Russia, or from the aristocratic and ecclesiastical classes striving to regain control over the masses as they did in Spain. In addition to these overt conflicts there is a constant struggle between individuals and small groups, comparable to guerrilla warfare. We are not here concerned with the economic features of the class conflict but only with the psychological factors which assist a comparatively small governing class continuously to maintain a hold over a much larger number of their fellow-countrymen, the factors which enable Dean Inge to say in his Rede Lecture for 1922 : "Those who have studied the family portraits in a great house, or the wonderful portrait gallery in the Provost's Lodge at Eton, will see on the faces not only the pride and self-satisfaction of a privileged class, but the power to lead the nation whether in the arts of war or peace."

In Britain the class conflict, apart from strikes, etc., is waged in very subtle form, so soft being the velvet glove that many have denied the very existence of the conflict. It was customary at one time to speak of social strata in Britain, as the "upper," "middle" and "lower" class, the last often being known as the

"lower orders" but gentler manners now require us to speak of the "working class" and to avoid the use of the term "upper class" as much as possible, the designation "governing class" becoming more frequent. But there are only two classes in the class struggle. The middle class has no class consciousness and takes no part as a class in the conflict, its constituents never acting together. The separate professions will fight tenaciously for their specific rights, but they will not come to each other's assistance. When, for instance, the doctors organised a strike against the National Health Insurance Act there was no movement among the lawyers or schoolmasters or stockbrokers to strike in sympathy with them, as separate trades unions of workers will do. If the middle class did act as a whole they would be enormously powerful as they hold nearly all the key positions in the community. Being a possessing class, however, they are usually opposed to any material change in the social system, and, as individuals, adopt the political and religious views and conventions of the governing class, and support that class in any conflict, as well as provide it with most of the intelligence staff which helps to keep it in its place. They are generally ready to pass into the governing class if opportunity presents, but so, too, are members of the working class, though their opportunities of doing this are fewer. We will consider first the influence of prestige in the governing class and then note the general association of this class with wealth, and the social power which results from the combination of the two factors.

TITLES AND PRESTIGE¹

Prestige is a quality which attaches to an office or a class and extends to an individual as the holder of that office or as a member of the class. It is conferred or inherited rather than earned. We do not usually speak of an eminent writer or scientist as deriving prestige from his work, but if his merits are recognised by the conferment of an honour or appointment to an office he then draws prestige from the special group of which he has been made a member, or the office which "carries" prestige with it. The usual way of conferring prestige in this country is by the granting of a title which may also convey prestige to the descendants of the first holder. The higher the title the greater the

¹ The N.E.D. gives the first, but obsolete, meaning of "prestige" as "An illusion; a conjuring trick, a deception; an imposture."

prestige it carries, and accordingly a study of the social influence of the British peerage as distinguished from its legislative power will afford an opportunity of investigating the psychological factors involved in prestige; and what is said of peers applies in descending strength to holders of lesser titles.

The total number of hereditary peers in 1942, including Scottish and Irish peers, was about 850, constituting less than 0.07 per cent. of the male population of the United Kingdom over twenty years of age. In spite of their very small proportion, peers are prominent in many social activities. They are sought for by their less distinguished countrymen to help in any movement designed to influence others; they are asked to preside at public dinners, open institutions and conduct public ceremonies. Promoters of charitable appeals and social objects place their names at the heads of their lists of supporters. They are governors of schools and hospitals, honorary members of many learned societies and prominent in the governing organisations of sports, particularly the more costly sports such as horse-racing and yachting.

Peers and those holding lesser titles are in large proportion in that class of administrative office which demands dignity rather than scholarship. In 1942, thirty-one of the forty-two Lords Lieutenant of the Counties of England and Wales were peers and six others held lesser titles; of the thirteen in Wales, five were peers and six were baronets or knights; and of the thirty-three in Scotland, twenty-one were peers and seven others were titled. These appointments are largely of a ceremonial character, but they none the less emphasise the importance of their holders who are the official representatives of the Sovereign. Of the sixteen Chancellors of the Universities, in 1942, in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, thirteen were peers, one was a baronet, one a knight and one had no title apart from the style of a Privy Councillor.¹

The other important sphere in which holders of titles are prominent is the world of commerce, as directors of public companies and corporations. Many of the larger industries and services have several peers and holders of lesser titles on their Boards. The directorates of the four leading British railways, for instance, which number seventy-five members (1943), include seventeen peers, eight sons of peers, eleven baronets and seventeen

¹ Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the University of Bristol.

knights. Other industries in which the peerage is prominent are brewing, shipping, banking, coalmining and coal-distribution, soap-making, car manufacturing, engineering, building, chemicals, textiles, stores and newspaper proprietorship. These positions give the peerage an influence in the world of commerce altogether out of proportion to their numbers, and economists have pointed out the far-reaching effect of modern economic combines on the lives of the people. P. Drucker, for instance, says :—

“ Before the introduction of the present war economy the executive of a big corporation in any of the industrial countries had more power over the lives and the livelihood of a greater number of people than most of the political authorities proper. The decisions of the big business management regarding prices and wages, working hours and output, shaped and moulded the lives of millions of people and ultimately of the whole community.”¹

It is generally assumed that the peerage exercises its governing influence essentially through the House of Lords, but the foregoing survey shows that, altogether apart from their legislative powers peers possess a large amount of social influence. Up to the early years of the century, abolition or reform of the House of Lords was an insistent demand from “left wing” politicians, but since 1914 there has been no occasion on which the two Houses have come into serious conflict, and the legislative privilege of the peers now excites little opposition in any class of the community. This political immunity has undoubtedly been helped by the prestige and respect which the peers have derived from their social activities. It is nevertheless of interest to note that Japan is now the only other country in the world in which inherited power (other than royal privilege) plays a material part in the legislature.

It has been claimed that the prominence of titled persons in the governing class is a perfectly natural development as at any time they represent the best of the community, whether by reason of their own capacities or inherited virtue. There is a considerable element of truth in this as regards the *knightage*, but the prestige of this body is not so high as that of the peerage or baronetage. Clearly, however, this view involves the question of what is meant by “best.” If it means the capacity to succeed

¹ *Future of Industrial Man*, 1943.

in business, or the qualities which make a successful politician, the claim might be admitted, but if we turn to those activities in which intellectual capacity is essential we do not find members of the peerage exceptionally prominent. In some 850 heads and fellows (other than honorary fellows) of the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges there are four peers or sons of peers who inherited their titles which is not a noteworthy number considering the high proportion of peers who were educated at one or other of these Universities. There is one peer (Earl Baldwin) in the lists of fellows of the Royal Society and one Bishop. There are three peers in the medical profession, all first creations. There is no peer in the list of Royal Academicians and no peer among the headmasters of the leading public schools; and there are few outstanding figures among them in the world of literature.

THE MAINTENANCE OF PRESTIGE

Having regard to the important part played in the class conflict by the prestige attaching to titles, it is essential to study in some detail the origin and nature of prestige.

In the first place it is clear that the prestige of a title resides in the title itself and not in the personality of the holder of the title. In the Table of Precedence and in social estimation a peer ranks before a baronet and a baronet before a knight. Yet of a knight alone is the fact patent that the holder of the title has himself done something deemed exceptionally meritorious by his fellow-countrymen. The attitude is also conclusively shown by the fact that the older the title the greater is the respect paid to it, though the service which won the title may have been performed centuries ago, and may not have been of a nature such as would be so rewarded to-day.¹ Nor may the holder even have had an opportunity of showing his merit. In recent coming-of-age celebrations of a seventh marquis, the Mayor presented him with a silver salver, and presentations were made from the clergy of the district, farmers, tenants, estate-workers and tradesmen of the vicinity; there was a thanksgiving service in the church at which a Bishop preached, a garden party and a ball, and a long list of the distinguished persons taking part in these rejoicings appeared in the newspapers. The recipient of these honours was a 2nd. lieutenant in the Guards. Titled directors of companies are

¹ Four Dukes and one Baron are descended from the mistresses of Charles II.

valued even though they may have no special knowledge of the business of the company nor take part in its management, since the mere possession of a title is likely to be regarded by shareholders as a guarantee of integrity. It is clear, therefore, that the emotional effect attached to a title is a derived emotion, for no one would know anything of titular honours if he were not told or did not read of them. Many a person who has formed a high opinion of another from reading or hearing of his achievements has been far from impressed when he has met him in person.

Men and women are much more influenced by *suggestion*—the capacity to accept an idea without having fully recognised its origin and significance—than they are aware of, and we have an instance of the way it operates in the effect some titles have of directly suggesting that the holder is a man of exceptional merit. We speak of a man possessing certain qualities which we admire, as a *noble* man, and we call peers *noblemen*. The word “noble” is here used in widely different senses, but subconscious mental processes tend to transfer the quality to the class. Similarly birth alone is deemed quite sufficient to establish the appropriateness of the title “Honourable” given to sons and daughters of peers, and Archbishops and Dukes receive the pleasing address of “Your Grace.” Lord is one of the appellations of the Deity, and the prestige of an office is increased by attaching to it the word “lord,” as when we speak of “Lord Mayor,” “Lord Lieutenant” and “Lord Chief Justice.” The endowment of the nobility with grace, wisdom and understanding is specially prayed for in the Litany.

The influence of titles is increased by the practice of using them on all occasions. The holder of the Order of Merit does not announce his dignity, and is ordinarily indistinguishable from his fellows, but the man who must be habitually addressed as “My Lord” or “Sir” exercises a more frequent effect, if it be only in leading the inn-keeper to put up his prices or in evoking social deference. On ceremonial occasions a direct effect is produced by the wearing of coloured ribbons and jewels, appropriately termed “decorations.”

Pomp and circumstance are employed to increase the impression of grandeur. The peers have their ancient chapels, banners and insignia, and the relative positions of the bearers of titles are matters of social importance, determined by a “Table of Precedence” which is not a social convention but “is part and parcel

of the law of England.”¹ These ornamental adjuncts are controlled by the College of Heralds, a department of State which is staffed by an Earl Marshal whose patent dates from the fifteenth century, three Kings of Arms, “Garter,” “Clarenceux” and “Norroy”; six Heralds and four Poursuivants, “Rouge Dragon,” “Rouge Croix” “Portcullis” and “Bluemantle.” This picturesque, medieval assemblage forms part of the august background of the peerage which imparts dignity to the most mundane things: we feel the profoundest respect for the Order of the Garter and the Order of the Bath, but the creation to-day of an order of the Braces or of the Soap and Towel would merely excite our risibility.

The aura of authority which surrounds the nobility is strengthened by its close association with the Crown. At the opening of Parliament, at levees and on other ceremonial occasions the populace see the nobles and their ladies in close proximity to the throne; their visits to Royal residences, or the honouring of their residences by Royal visits, are duly chronicled in the newspapers and it is from the hand of Royalty that their honours are received. The monarch, as we know, creates the impression as of one all-good and all-powerful, and the association of the nobility with the monarch tends to transfer some of his dignity and greatness to them. The Press disseminates these conceptions of the great by the same methods as are adopted with Royalty. “Society” columns record their personal affairs, and illustrated journals show them at race-meetings, or playing games or at other occupations in their houses and estates. After a “Court” the newspapers describe the dresses of the ladies, even giving the names of their dressmakers.

A special type of attitude amounting almost to reverence is apt to be found in the English countryside where a noble family has a large estate. These important people are never spoken of as being “at home”; they are “in residence.” The local inhabitants are well informed as to their private affairs; they will tell a stranger which of the sons is at Eton and which at Sandhurst, and when the daughter is to be presented at Court, and they display the appropriate emotions over personal events in the family. The belief that the ennobled are necessarily good even when appearances are against them, received a rather pathetic illustration a few years ago when a peer, who had served

¹ *Burke's Peerage.*

a sentence of twelve months' imprisonment for making false statements in the prospectus of a company, returned to his castle. Farmers, local clergy, villagers and labourers met him; a triumphal arch with the words "Welcome Home" had been erected; fifty farmers dragged his car up the drive, and his health was drunk amid cheers. The symbolism in the act of substituting human effort for mechanical power to propel the car should be noted.

Survival of the feudal influence shows itself also in the prestige which attaches to the mere possession of land. Large landowners set out in reference books the number of acres they own, and there is a special book of such records, *The Landed Gentry*. But we do not see other forms of wealth expressly recorded; we have yet to wait for books on the Factoried Gentry or the Brewing Gentry.

THE ASSOCIATION OF NOBILITY AND WEALTH

Most peers and baronets are rich men. In a list (made for another purpose, v. p. 132) of 100 consecutive recordings in *The Times* of the wills of people who had left sums of over £100,000 (the average was £300,000) there were seventeen peers and thirteen baronets. Of the twelve largest landowners in England and Wales at a recent date, eleven were peers and one was a baronet, much of their land having been inherited and grown in value since its acquirement, in most instances, by a distant ancestor.¹ In a list of the eight largest fortunes left within a period of a few years, there were four peers and four baronets.² The proportion of new peerages drawn from industry has increased very largely during the last half-century, two tendencies co-operating to produce this effect. Companies and corporations wish to have peers, or failing them holders of lesser titles on their Boards of Directors, and the governing class, expressing itself through both the great political parties which so long dominated British politics, have made it equally clear that they wish "captains of industry" to be given titles. The two institutions support each other; the wealthy aspire to be titled, and the

¹ The list was as follows: Lord Leconfield, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Zetland, the Duke of Westminster, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Derby, Lord Leicester, Lord Berkeley, Lord Yarborough, Lord Clinton and Sir Watkin Williams-Wynne. *Evening Standard*, January 18th, 1935.

² Sir John Ellerman, £30,000,000; Sir David Yule, £15,000,000; The Earl of Iveagh, £11,000,000; Sir George A. Wills, £10,000,000; Lord Ashton, £9,500,000; Lord Woolavington, £7,150,000; Lord Strathcona, £6,749,231; Sir Robert Houston, £6,000,000. *The Times*, September 30th, 1935.

titled wish the wealthy to join them. For the highest ranks indeed possession of wealth adequate to "support the dignity" is with rare exceptions an essential requisite, and if the wealth qualification is sound, no origin, however humble, is a bar to admission to the peerage. To the uncultured the combination appears very powerful. The poor know that the most difficult thing in life is to get even a tiny share of the world's wealth, and a rich man is obviously therefore a clever man ; if in addition he is a peer it is equally certain that he is a good man. The poor peer or baronet who has fallen on evil days and lost his ancestral possessions is very apt to lose prestige ; the public expect a peer to be wealthy and if he is not they are inclined to suspect that it is his own fault. In so far as it is possible to speak of national characteristics, respect for money is prominent in the Englishman. Nearly sixty years ago that shrewd critic of England, Max O'Rell, said, "Become a rich man in England, and you will have acquired every good quality, nay every talent. You may patronise the arts, govern the public schools, be Member for the University of Oxford, Member of the House of Lords even."¹ Emerson said in his *English Traits* (1856) : "There is no country in which so absolute a homage is paid to wealth," and long before him Pope wrote :—

"A man of wealth is dubbed a man of worth."

The influence of those at the head of social institutions extends to subordinate positions. In business management and in administration generally, care is taken to appoint and promote men who accept broadly the present conditions of British social organisations, men who can be described as "safe," and relied upon to do nothing revolutionary or unexpected. A Public School education or membership of the Church of England or of the Conservative Party is usually accepted as evidence of this type of mind. Even in the learned professions advancement may be hindered by expression of untraditional views.

THE CLASS BATTLEFIELD

The friendly, at times almost affectionate, attitude of the masses in Britain to the ruling class, tends to obscure the severity of the struggle which is constantly present between them. Those who deny the existence of the class conflict can point to the fact

¹ *John Bull and his Island*.

that in spite of their dissatisfaction with their economic position the poorer classes continue generation after generation to support the parliamentary candidates of the wealthy class. When the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed, lively fears were expressed by the aristocratic classes that they would be dispossessed by the newly enfranchised voters, and the Church anticipated disestablishment. Similar apprehensions were displayed at each extension of the franchise, and even as recently as the election of 1931, the threat to property if the Conservative Party was not returned was used as a political argument (v. p. 127). But these fears have never been realised. The masses, who if they acted together could return their representatives to Parliament in probably over 90 per cent. of the constituencies, have only in recent years won Parliamentary elections in any material numbers, while the poorest paid class in the community, the agricultural labourers, has consistently formed the main support of the Conservative Party. Yet it is important not to make the mistake of regarding this fact as evidence against the existence of a class conflict, for such an argument fails to discriminate between political and industrial power. Economic conditions of life for the average workman, as far as he sees, are determined by his employer and his Trade Union, and he has not sufficient political knowledge to appreciate the effect of larger issues or international economics on his own humble affairs. There is many a workman who supports the candidate of a particular political party while declaiming against what he regards as injustices in his own personal affairs, though these result from, or are in accord with, the political principles of the party he is supporting. The difference between these two aspects of the class conflict, and an illustration of the way in which one may hide the other, were well shown by the events of 1924 and the immediately succeeding years in Britain. In November, 1924, a Conservative Government was elected with the largest majority on record, yet in 1925 began the long and disastrous coal-strike, and in the following year occurred the general strike which affected all the major industries of the country. Britain is claimed to be a democracy, but a Parliamentary election may be a very misleading guide as to the opinions actually held by the majority; and Ross has shown in an exhaustive analysis that the House of Commons is a body very far from being truly representative of the people.¹

¹ *Parliamentary Representation*, 1944.

Strikes represent only one phase of the class conflict ; the major struggle goes on silently and unobtrusively, but almost continuously in nearly every form of social activity, in the fashionable life of cities, in the countryside, in the world of commerce and in the handling of finance. The governing class receives the support of the Established Church and its most powerful weapon is control of education.

THE CLASS CONFLICT AND THE CHURCH

A National Church must *ipso facto* support the ruling authority. In England, the Established Church, besides carrying out its official duties from the crowning of the Sovereign to the "Amen" of the Chaplain when a criminal is sentenced to death, has a very important social side. It is one of the largest landowners in the country, and the higher clergy are themselves officially members of the peerage, the Archbishop of Canterbury taking precedence immediately after the Royal Family and Ambassadors, and the Archbishop of York following him except for the interposition of the Lord High Chancellor. The Bishops rank before Barons and are addressed as "My Lord" and live in palaces. These august associations give the Church of England a prestige over other denominations, which adds largely to the number of its nominal adherents, those who are indifferent to religious claims generally selecting the dignified fellowship of the Establishment when they are required to state their faith. The emoluments of the Church of England enable its dignitaries to maintain a higher social state than is possible in most other denominations.

The Churches have on many occasions exercised influence in defence of property, an historic instance being afforded by the opposition to Mr. Lloyd-George's famous budget of 1909 which proposed to tax land-values. After the House of Lords had taken the unprecedented step of throwing out the Budget, the attitude of the clergy generally in the ensuing election may be illustrated by the action of one of the London vicars who held a "Special Thanksgiving Service to Almighty God for the timely deliverance of Woolwich and Plumstead from the hands of the Socialists and Sabbath-breakers." This was an act of gratitude for the defeat of Will Crooks, a former Mayor of Poplar and a well-known Labour pioneer.

A more recent instance of the support of a political party by the leaders of the Church in defence of property was afforded

during the general election of November, 1931, when the question of the gold standard was at issue. In the course of a long speech the Archbishop of Canterbury said :—

“ Quite apart from all considerations of party we should pay our tribute to the conspicuous courage of the Prime Minister and those who stood by him, refused to be deceived, faced the facts, and determined upon an immediate and most drastic effort to meet the situation. It was difficult now to realise what the position might have been if that courageous action had not been taken. . . . it was not too much to say that we were within a distance to be measured not by months but by hours of such a collapse of our credit as might, if not immediately arrested, have deprived our people of the power of purchasing the very necessities of life. . . . We must find the men we could trust to see this country through those difficulties. That was the issue on this election.”¹

The Bishop of London was even more outspoken. He said at another meeting :—

“ He saw the most appalling danger in front of this country and he felt bound to speak a word of solemn warning both as Bishop of London and as a citizen of the British Empire. . . . He believed it to be the solemn truth that the credit of this country was so much shaken that if the verdict of the country went wrong on Tuesday the pound would fall to 5s within 24 hours, to a shilling possibly within a week, and a penny in a month. . . . Nothing would save the country but an overwhelming majority for the National Government.”²

It is pertinent to recall that a material factor in this election was the fear aroused in many of the working-class by the suggestion that their savings in the Post Office Savings Bank and other institutions would be lost if the National Government were not returned.

The most conspicuous instances of ecclesiastical concern for the interests of the property-owning class in recent times have been afforded by the support the Russian Church gave to the Tsarist regime during the Bolshevik revolution, and the Roman Catholic Church to General Franco's insurrection.

Apart from any specific action, the insistence of the Church on extreme humility towards God, fosters an attitude of respect to

¹ *The Times*, October 20th, 1931.

² *The Times*, October 27th, 1931.

all authority, and particularly the authority which the Church is specially required to defend, that of the Sovereign and the State.

THE INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE GOVERNING CLASS

For several reasons social relations between the aristocratic and wealthy classes of different countries are closer than those between the working classes of the same countries. The learning of foreign languages at school, the greater opportunities the wealthy have for foreign travel, and their facilities for entertaining visitors from abroad, bring them more in contact with foreigners and promote intermarriage. The union of American wealth and British title has played a not inconspicuous part in British social life and politics ; and the "colour-bar," even when associated with difference of religion, has proved no obstacle to marriage if one or other of the essential qualifications has been present. The custom until recent times of regarding it as desirable, if not essential, for members of Royal Families, only to marry those of royal rank often entailed their marrying into foreign families. Of the nine children of Queen Victoria, eight married foreigners, and one of her grandchildren became a Roman Catholic in order to marry a foreign king. This custom has tended to increase international association though it has had at times the embarrassing result that in war the monarch of a country has found himself in the position of having near relatives among his country's enemies. Incidentally we may note that if there were any validity in the claim that there is a specific "British race" or "British stock," the last place to look for the special qualities would be in the reigning family.

The result of this association, and of a common interest in maintaining the rights of property is to establish a similarity of outlook and understanding between the wealthy and influential classes of different countries which tends to make them co-operate with each other. The Bolsheviks issued an appeal, "Workers of the World Unite !" but there is no need for a cry, "Aristocrats of the World unite !" for they have already done this to a material extent. The effect is seen mainly in the varying attitude of a governing class towards revolutionary disturbances. In the Spanish civil war there was no concealment of the fact that the sympathy of the British governing class was with the aristocratic

and ecclesiastical classes although they had rebelled against the democratic government and started the war. The "Non-intervention Committee" prevented the Spanish Government from obtaining munitions of war from this country, while arms and troops were freely sent to General Franco from Germany and Italy. After the war the rebel government was promptly recognised by both Britain and France, and, with Mr. Chamberlain's concurrence, the £7,500,000 of Spanish gold which had been deposited in France and denied to the Republican Government some months previously, was handed over to the Franco Government together with all other Spanish property in France.

This ready acceptance of the rebel Spanish Government was in strong contrast to the attitude shown a few years earlier to the successful Russian revolutionaries. The Bolshevik Government was bitterly opposed by the British governing class, and sympathy with the Tsarist Government was unaffected by the fact that its rule had been harsh and corrupt; that the bulk of the people had lived under it in dire poverty with the worst standard of public health in Europe; and that the Throne had been swayed by superstition under the influence of a dissolute monk. The Soviet Government was not given official diplomatic recognition until 1942, and the ban on playing the *Internationale* was not lifted until January, 1942, although the Soviet Union had already been an ally of Britain for seven months.¹

The Bolshevik cry for union was generally looked upon as subversive, yet if the workers of the world had united, the second World War would probably not have occurred, for nearly all wars are class wars in the sense that they are initiated by a particular class or group in the country. In no country do the masses wish to go to war with each other before their animosities have been aroused by some vested interests. Even as regards Germany it is generally accepted that Hitler would never have reached his dominating position had he not been helped by the aristocratic and commercial classes who thought they could use him for their own ends. Once more we see the close relation between class, religion and international hostility.

¹ The ban on playing the *Internationale* was lifted the day after an incident at a football match to assist the "Aid-for-Russia" Fund, at which the British National Anthem was played, followed by the Yugo-Slav National Anthem because King Peter was present, but the expectant crowd waited in vain for the music which had symbolised the hopes of the Soviet peoples."

THE CLASS CONFLICT IN SOME OTHER COUNTRIES

Britain has never had a proletarian revolution and the governing class has always known at what point to yield to the demands of the masses while still retaining its essential power ; it has never given them a " bloody Sunday " such as that which sealed the doom of the Russian aristocratic class. Moreover, it has always allowed great freedom of speech, realising that it does not much matter what men say so long as they do not do anything undesirable ; and the Englishman, by constantly reiterating that he lives in a " free country," has come to believe that he has much more freedom than is actually the case. In consequence, in Britain, the class conflict, while ceaselessly waged, has been little marked by violence and ill-feeling. In other countries the class struggle is much more open and more obviously concerned with economic differences, and is fought without those psychological analgesics from rank and Church which obscure the severity of the struggle in Britain. In France the disturbed history of the inter-war years was one of struggle between the possessing and non-possessing classes, leading to strikes and lock-outs, legislation such as that establishing the forty-four hour week, creation of the *Front Populaire* and efforts to suppress communism. It was symptomatic of the acute social division in that country that as soon as war was declared the French Government found itself under the necessity of imprisoning some forty members of the Chamber of Deputies. America did her full share in fomenting " anti-bolshevism," that hatred of the Soviet Union which was so enormously helpful to the astute Hitler by gaining for him the sympathy of the governing classes everywhere. Strikes were frequent, and even during the war, while some Americans were striving to destroy coal production in Germany, other Americans were producing the same effect in their own country by refusing to dig coal.

THE BIOLOGICAL CLAIM

All classes to a large extent accept the present position in Britain. The poorer classes, so far from wishing to destroy the governing class, adopt its ideals and model their conduct as much as possible upon them. They believe that the governing class holds its present position because it is the best class, because it ought to be there, and because it cannot help being there ; and

members of the artisan class who have attained some financial success in life make serious sacrifices to send their children to a Public School as a portal of entry to the favoured circle. Equally, the governing class derives much of its power from the fact that it sincerely believes in its own scale of values. It considers the prevailing religious and social ideals to be the best for the community as well as for itself, and accordingly regards it as its duty to impress them upon the less fortunate whenever opportunity arises. The Christian religion is the best, the British democratic government is the best in the world, and British social customs and ideals are the best, witness the horrors of "the continental Sunday." Nothing must be done to injure the sturdy British independence which has produced this satisfactory state of affairs.

Support is claimed for the view that the upper classes represent the best of the population by a belief sometimes expressed that they do in fact constitute a biologically superior class. Just as we saw that the people of Europe are considered by some to be divided into nations because these are based upon innate differences, so we find a belief that the people of a country are divided into "stocks" or "strains" which have inherent differences transmissible from generation to generation. Hence the fall in the birth-rate, which has been far greater in the upper than in the lower class, is regarded as a national calamity. In an address to the British Hospitals Association Dr. Barnes, F.R.S., Bishop of Birmingham, said :—

"There is no doubt whatever that in England the best stocks are dying out. Bad stocks are hopeless breeding grounds. It is vital to a nation that its best stocks should increase and multiply. If good stocks will not maintain their numbers calamitous decay is waiting. . . . Some ten per cent. of our people lack not only the energy and enterprise necessary for independent political and social life but even the more rudimentary capacity for civilisation. . . . If the present differential birth-rate continues the greatness of our country cannot be maintained." ¹

Dean Inge has consistently and vigorously supported this belief. In his Romanes Lecture, 1920, he said : "The new

¹ *The Times*, October 16th, 1937.

practice of subsidising the unsuccessful by taxes extorted from the industrious is cacogenics erected into a principle"; and in his *Christian Ethics and Modern Problems*, 1930, he says: "There is no doubt whatever that wholesale class-bribery by taxation is the most dysgenic factor in modern life." The following is quoted from *The Times*, May 9th, 1928 :—

"Dean Inge, addressing the inaugural meeting of the Oxford Eugenic Society, said that we were populating the country from the worst stocks. Those classes which were the best were not reproducing their kind. On the other hand, dwellers in the slums had a high birth-rate and the feeble-minded had the highest birth-rate of all. . . . The Government was taking the cream of the working classes and was educating them at the expense of the ratepayers to enable them to take the bread out of the mouths of the professional man's sons."

Similar arguments are used to support the principle of hereditary titles and legislative privilege.

These views are based upon a crude application of the Darwinian theory to the human species, and an identification of the social struggle among men with the biological struggle for existence. The biological aspect need not, however, detain us long. In the Darwinian theory the criterion of fitness is the capacity to survive, and this depends among other things upon the capacity of the individual members of the species to produce an adequate number of healthy offspring, a thing which the better-off classes are conspicuously failing to do.¹ They are breaking the first law of survival; they are not reproducing their kind in adequate numbers, and consequently, if they do constitute an inherently different class, it is a class which is biologically degenerate and must eventually disappear. On the other hand the highest birth-rates are in agricultural labourers and unskilled industrial workers; biologically therefore these are the best. If class division has any biological effect at all it is probably dysgenic, since inherited wealth or social advantage enables

¹ A few years ago I made a consecutive record from wills published in *The Times* of persons leaving over £100,000 at death, who had been married for not less than twenty years, and who gave details of their families in the recognised books of reference. The average amount left by these fortunate people was about £350,000. They had consequently been under no economic inducement to limit their families, yet the number of children recorded was only 2.33 per family.

a certain number of individuals of a poor type to survive who would fail to do so under the less favourable conditions of poverty.

It is useful to note that the two occupational groups just mentioned, the agricultural workers and the unskilled industrial workers, provide the extreme limits of difference of physical condition and healthiness in the community. The agricultural workers, form the healthiest section of the community; their general death-rates and infant mortality rates are the lowest, and they suffer less from tuberculosis than any other group. They constitute the class which is sometimes spoken of as "sturdy British yeomen." On the other hand, the unskilled, industrial workers are the poorest physically, and the least healthy section of the community. Yet these two groups are descended from the same "stock." The industrialisation of England is only a matter of a few generations, and year after year urban populations have been recruited mainly from the country, for it is quite exceptional to find a town-born dweller of the third generation. Nothing could show more clearly that the physical differences between these classes are due not to inherited factors but to environment. Dean Inge appears to think that industrial workers live in slums because they are the "worst"; actually the reverse is the case, they are the worst because they have to live in slums. There is no reason to believe that it is the physically imperfect who migrate from the country to the towns; and it is generally accepted that those who leave are the most enterprising and desirous of improving their lot. Such an explanation therefore would involve believing that the poorest bodies are united to the best minds, a proposition not likely to be entertained.

The word "stock" which is so frequently used by amateur anthropologists, has a definite meaning with cattle-breeders who can control the breeding of their livestock, but it has no scientific exactness when applied to human beings. An individual in a genealogical table stands at the apex of an inverted pyramid, his progenitors increasing in number for each past generation, and he can in consequence trace his descent through many lines. Those who are anxious to demonstrate the benefits of "good breeding" always trace a descent from one distinguished progenitor, ignoring the rest of the ancestors who may have been of very indifferent quality. It is possible to find individuals whose

ancestry traced through one line is creditable and through another quite the reverse.

THE CLASS CONFLICT AND THE BIRTH-RATE

Another aspect of the fall in the birth-rate is cognate to the theme of this chapter. The decline which began in the middle and upper classes about seventy years ago has in recent years affected also the industrial classes to such an extent as seriously to threaten the very survival of the community, and methods of raising the birth-rate are likely to form one of the most pressing social problems of the next generation. The practice of artificially restricting the family is usually ascribed to economic stress ; hence the proposals to check the decline by giving family allowances and grants. But if this view were correct, it would be the poorest class which most restricted their families and not, as we have seen, the wealthier classes. The real reasons are two : in the first place parents with any degree of culture prefer now to have only small families to whom they can then afford to give a better education and start in life, a practice often defended on the ground that "quality" is better than "quantity." The second is that parents wish to have more time and opportunity for the enjoyment of modern social activities which education opens up to them, whether their tastes run in the direction of cinemas and popular novels or the more serious pursuit of art and literature, as well as for sport and travel ; and opportunities for such enjoyment are usually incompatible with the production and rearing of a large family. An increase in the birth-rate will never be effected by grants of money to mothers ; it will only be achieved under our present social system by a change in social values which would make the rearing of children a matter of more importance and a source of greater happiness than devotion to other social occupations. We shall consider this subject further in the following chapter, but the important thing to note here is that the difference between the birth-rates of the rich and poor constitutes a very marked class character, since irrespective of its merits or demerits the present scale of social values has been established by the governing class through its influence in every direction upon social pursuits. The governing class set the example in the matter of birth-restriction, and, as far as discouragement of reproduction by the young is concerned, it has been strongly supported both by the Church and the Law.

Class division is clearly epigenetic, for the children of the monarch and the mud-sweeper would play happily together, as would those of the nordic and the negro, if they were never taught to do otherwise. It is found in ancient societies, but it has no roots in anything inherent or unalterable in men, and in this country is largely maintained by the dead hand. At present the influence of class division is disastrous, if survival of the community is hoped for. The attitude of ruling classes has changed in this matter. The patriarchs and potentates of old reproduced their kind freely, but their modern representatives do not do so. The biological problem is now intimately associated with the social systems of Western Europe, and a testing time is inescapable. If the nations affected cannot find a solution—and this seems unlikely under their present guiding principles—civilisation of their type must perish.

CHAPTER X

THE CLASH BETWEEN THE YOUNG AND THE OLD

If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son; which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and though they chasten him will not hearken unto them ;

Then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him, and bring him out unto the elders of the city, and unto the gate of his place ;

And they shall say unto the elders of his city, this our son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice, he is a riotous liver, and a drunkard.

And all the men of his city shall stone him with stones, that he die.

Deuteronomy.

In no civilised society are the young allowed to grow up free to do as they like ; they are trained from infancy to conform to certain social patterns. Parents have wide proprietary rights over their children ; they determine their religion, and members of certain faiths are permitted by law to inflict painful mutilations on them in the name of religion ; they settle their form of education, and often strive to decide for them their occupation or profession in life. The capacity of the parents to make correct decisions in these matters, so momentous to the child, is never questioned. Law and custom support generally the parents' rights ; in addition the law imposes specific obligations on the parents and imposes a number of prohibitions on the young or in regard to the young. The social patterns to which the young are required to conform are derived from various traditions and interests, and they take little cognizance of natural aptitudes and developing trends in the young. In consequence, children and adolescents are subjected to a process of moulding which may extend into the third decade of life. Broadly stated the conflict results from the fact that while normally the young of the human species are fully developed sexually at or before the age of sixteen, and are mentally and physically mature a year or two later than that age, modern society demands that they shall not be treated as adults until they are twenty-one, and in Britain they are " infants " in the eyes of the law before they reach that age. During their earlier years they are trained to accept the social restraints and codes which their elders have decreed and they are coerced, if necessary by force, if they do not submit to them. The conflict manifests itself most prominently in two directions : (1) in open

rebellion against the prohibitions of the adults, leading to various forms of "juvenile delinquency," and (2) in defiance of the established code of sex relations. We must consider each of these manifestations of independence separately.

CRIME AND THE YOUNG

It is probably not generally realised what a high proportion of the total crime of the country is committed by young people. In 1938, out of a total of 78,463 persons convicted in England and Wales of indictable offences, 51 per cent. were under twenty-one years of age, 36 per cent., or more than one-third of the total, being under seventeen. The figures for the young have been steadily rising for a number of years. In 1934, convictions of indictable offences, of those under seventeen years of age, were 20,540, and of those between seventeen and twenty-one, 9,508; in 1938 the numbers had become respectively 28,116 and 11,451. In addition to these convictions, 90,504 persons under twenty-one were convicted of non-indictable offences. To realise the full import of these figures, it must be remembered that the police do not charge all offenders, and that the convictions represent only a fraction, perhaps a small fraction, of the offences actually committed. Most of the offences are some form of stealing.

The view is widely held that juvenile delinquency is due chiefly to lack of parental control, and magistrates constantly rebuke parents for neglect to punish their children. This attitude was vigorously expressed by Sir Travers Humphreys in his Presidential Address to the Medico-Legal Society in 1937, when he said :—

"Some people have proposed to appoint psychologists as medical advisers to criminal courts. . . . There is no more need for a psychologist to be attached to a court than there is for a lunacy expert. . . . Even the problem of juvenile delinquency is not one for experts. Most of their offences could be explained by the slackening of the home ties, the absence of parental control, and the craze of many parents for evening amusement and distraction causing the children to be left to their own devices. Given a home where pleasure is the only god and discipline is unknown, what chance has the boy of withstanding temptation to steal, what hope is there for the chastity of the girl? In exceptional cases the courts make the most exhaustive enquiries. A medical report is made upon any illness or injury suffered by the accused, and no better psychologist can be found than an experienced

prison doctor. Any magistrate or judge can direct any examination psycho-analytical or otherwise which he considers necessary. If any judge or justice finds himself unable to administer justice in juvenile cases without a doctor at his elbow he is at liberty to resign his office in favour of a woman who has brought up a family of her own. I shall always remember the sage words of an old farmer, an authority on breeding sheepdogs, whom I congratulated upon having brought up 12 children all of whom were doing well in the world. 'Well Sir,' he said, 'children are very like puppies. You must be kind and patient or you will do nothing with them, but you must be firm too; they must learn to obey you early and you will have little trouble with them later.'"¹

But not all judges consider that everything would be well with children if they were brought up on the principles governing the rearing of puppies. Another opinion held is that there is a pathological condition underlying juvenile delinquency, a view which is expressed in the following statement made by the learned Recorder of a large city, before sending a youth of seventeen to Borstal for three years for stealing a bicycle:—

"Has anyone taken a blood-test in the case of this boy? I really do think in cases of this kind where you get a boy who is obviously going wrong, the medical profession should take a much more active part than they do at present to see if he has got some germ in his blood that is removable.""²

Nevertheless, even if we accept the rather unusual conception of hæmatology expressed by the learned Recorder, there are no grounds for assuming that the bulk of juvenile offenders are inherently different from other youths who have better adapted themselves to their environment, or have been forced so to adapt themselves, or have succeeded in keeping their breaches of social restraint from the eyes of the law. That some of them are mentally deficient is well known, but the total number is far too great for this explanation to be generally applicable, and there is no evidence that juvenile delinquents as a whole form a special class.

We find confirmation of this view when we examine in detail the offences committed by juvenile offenders. More than three-quarters of the indictable offences committed by boys between fourteen and seventeen were forms of larceny from shops, stalls,

¹ *Medico-Legal Review*, 1938.

² *News Chronicle*, November 7th, 1936.

unattended vehicles, automatic machines and meters, "simple and minor larceny" and stealing of pedal cycles. This fact shows that the temptations of these boys were the same as those which beset their elders, and the motive is to obtain that greater degree of freedom or power which possession of money or its equivalent is believed to give. The penniless boy who steals a bicycle at once enlarges his environment, and the boy who breaks open a gas-meter, though he may get no more than the price of a bus-ride from one end of the town to the other, can for a brief period please himself. Children of the working classes tend to over-value money. They see their parents constantly struggling to obtain money; they may have to hand over all or part of their meagre earnings to them; and they see that every kind of power and possession seems to depend on money. Hence it is not surprising that to them money is the talisman which will open the glorious gates of freedom.

Observations about juvenile delinquency must necessarily be drawn mainly from the working-class, since their social derelictions are the most likely to become public. It would be a serious mistake, however, to assume that the tendency to delinquency is not also shown by juveniles of more affluent classes; indeed, if it were not so it would form an argument against the view here put forward as to the origin of juvenile delinquency. Sons of wealthy parents are not subjected to the same temptation to steal as poor boys, but they show the same resentment of authority, which necessitates the discipline of the Public Schools including flogging, the chastisement, however, being administered in the class-room or study and not in the police station. The hooliganism of the poor boy becomes a "rag" with University students. A frequent form of juvenile delinquency is the apparently senseless destruction of property, and this may be displayed as much by the rich as the poor. Here are two instances in one of the older Universities, quoted from the *Sunday Times* of October 31st, 1937 :—

"On Cesarewitch night a party of twenty young men sat down to dinner at the — Club shortly after eight o'clock, and before 9.30 they were all out in the street, somewhat dishevelled in appearance, leaving a trail of devastation behind them. The occasion was a twenty-first birthday party, which coincided with a highly successful visit to Newmarket. Matters progressed quite normally during the greater part of dinner,

but when the orchestra, engaged for the occasion, played the Eton boating song the diners arose as one man and proceeded in loyal fervour to reduce the furniture to matchwood and smash everything breakable within reach, including over twenty panes of glass, as well as the table appointments."

"Something of the same kind occurred when Signorinetta won the Derby. Her owner had a son up at the time who gave a dinner party at a local restaurant to celebrate the success of his father's mare. During the progress of the feast a dish of fruit on the table was viewed with some disfavour by one of the guests, who threw it through the window into the street. This was the signal for a general debacle that ended in a similar manner to Wednesday's affair."

The reporter ends his account of these proceedings with the comment, "Apparently the instincts of youth have not changed with the passage of years."

The wanton destruction of inanimate objects is not however a manifestation of instinct, but is an effort to exercise power which has been frustrated. There is a curious vein of childishness in many of the grown men who constitute the undergraduates at our Universities. The football team of a large London hospital, for instance, never goes to play in a match without taking its milk-churn as a mascot—perhaps a not inappropriate symbol.

Many instances could be given of men of distinction, including an Admiral and the President of an Oxford college, who in their younger days got into "scrapes" which, if they had been poor boys, would certainly have led to appearance in the police court. The difference in the class treatment of young offenders was noted nearly a hundred years ago. Tom Brown would to-day be regarded as a typical juvenile delinquent. He was caught by a keeper fishing in forbidden water and was flogged by the Doctor (Arnold of Rugby), but, despite this experience, he and his friend East made a practice of robbing a poultry-farm and, on one occasion, when pursued after stealing a guinea-fowl, fled to a præpositor of the school, who helped them to buy off the farmer and then gave them a lecture, concluding with the words: "I wish our morals were sounder in such matters. There's nothing so mischievous as these school distinctions which jumble up right and wrong, and justify things in us for which poor boys would be sent to prison."¹ Tom ended his nefarious schooldays

¹ *Tom Brown's School-days*. Hughes, 1857.

by becoming a præpositor himself and captain of the eleven ; East, though he showed his Borstalian mind by resuming his thefts a week later, eventually became colonel of his regiment.

Juvenile delinquency does not indicate inherent depravity. The natural tendency of every unrestricted boy is to investigate and discover for himself the highways and byways of the apparently infinitely varied world in which he finds himself. This is the spirit of adventure, and if only flights of imagination are open to him he turns eagerly to his books. The Home Office Report mentioned above recognises this element in the causation of juvenile delinquency, saying :—

“ Law-breaking by boys is far less serious in itself than law-breaking by adults. Often it is a manifestation of the spirit of adventure or mischief and is not deliberately anti-social in essence. . . . Moreover, there are no professional criminals among boys and law-breaking by them is, so to speak, an accident in their lives. They live from day to day, and not from year to year for statistical or income purposes.”

When contrasting delinquency in boys and girls the Report says :—

“ Neglected boys generally find an outlet for their energies in adventure involving larceny, breaking into premises and in damage to property, and sooner or later are charged with an offence. Girls, on the other hand, drift into indecent or immoral habits.”

The Conservative Sub-committee on Education, whose Report is considered fully in the next chapter, describing the post-school stages through which boys and girls pass, say :—

“ The first is the stage immediately after they leave the Elementary School, when they are eager to put away childish things and become ‘ grown-ups,’ when they are thinking in terms of adventure and romance, or of the adult accomplishments with which they are familiar, other than ideas.”

Not only do the Sub-committee recognise this attitude, but they actually wish to encourage it, for under the heading *Educational Aims*, they say :—

“ The educational approach to the training of character has tended to forget that character must be ‘ tough ’ as well as ‘ good.’ It has aimed mainly at the timid ideal of the well-

behaved citizen, fitting decorously into a neatly patterned community, shielded from all external dangers ; and hardly at all at the qualities without which the community itself must fall to pieces—the bold qualities of adventurousness, initiative, enjoyment of difficulty and danger, the fighting spirit—in a word ‘grit.’ ”

In a later Report the Sub-committee again emphasises these qualities “ which are found at their best in the outdoor life of a new country such as Australia or Canada.” The Sub-committee do not state how the average working-class boy, who, in highly industrialised Britain, goes early into a job under a master, is to find an outlet for those qualities of adventurousness and initiative which are so preferable to those of the timid, well-behaved citizen, but they are obviously qualities which would be helpful to the enterprising delinquent.¹

We can trace yet another conception of the origin of juvenile insubordination in the statements made by some magistrates and educationalists, who hold that it is not so much the result of an innate depravity as the effect of deliberate suggestion from the environment. Cinemas depicting crime are the evil influence, and some magistrates put boys on probation for years on condition that they do not go to these entertainments. This is the modern form of an old complaint ; fifty years ago it was the custom to ascribe juvenile crime to the reading of “ penny-dreadfuls.” But the craving for excitement is already present in the boy, and all the cinema does is to provide a partial outlet in imagination. Probably the condemnation is primarily elicited by the crude manner in which the film stories are told ; we do not hear that witnessing crime in *Hamlet* or *Macbeth* is harmful ; and the only difference between the “ penny-dreadfuls ” and the stories of

¹ Here are two police court cases, occurring within a short period, which display the spirit of adventure so frequently at the bottom of juvenile delinquency :—

“ At Romford juvenile court a boy aged 15 was fined £3 for wasting petrol, and driving away a car without the owner’s consent. His job was to drive motor vehicles from the back of the council’s office to the front, ready for use on the road. On February 2nd the boy and a saloon motor car were missed, and later the boy drove the car into Romford police station yard and said that he wished to give himself up. He said he was fed up with his job and had a sudden desire to go on the road with the car. The mileage covered was 112. The boy’s father said his son had always been interested in cars, and on this occasion he saw 100 miles in front of him and took the chance. He told his father he had never experienced such a thrill in his life.” *Evening Standard*, February 16th, 1944.

“ At Stratford a boy of 17 was fined for riding on the buffers of a railway carriage. He told the magistrates, ‘ I did it for a bit of fun. My life is my own and after all this is a free country.’ ” *Evening Standard*, March 10th, 1944.

adventure read by boys of more affluent classes is that the latter are generally written in better style.

The root cause of this social attitude is the fact, to use words of the Conservative Sub-committee, that "many of the boys and girls of this age do not feel that they have any part or lot in their country." They have been brought up in narrow surroundings, their outlook has been that of a family constantly striving for means of livelihood, they have been given little responsibility and little opportunity of exercising independence of judgment or personal freedom; and, while their horizon is restricted, their temptations are much greater than those of better situated children. It is under these conditions that they develop the physical frames and urges of men and women, and they are then subjected to greater restraint than ever. Little attempt is made to adapt society to youth; coercion is adopted to fit recalcitrant youth to society. Parents are urged to beat their children; the Board of Education permits beating in schools, and beating is particularly encouraged by the governing class. When the Children and Young Persons Bill of 1932 left the House of Commons it contained a clause abolishing birching of children, but the House of Lords insisted on reinserting the power to order birching which the Commons were then obliged to agree to. Lord Danesfort, speaking on the Bill in the House of Lords, said:—

"Continuously throughout the ages whipping had been recognised as the appropriate punishment for offending children. Many of the Public Schools retained whipping and many of their lordships had no doubt benefited by the practice earlier in their careers. . . . He hoped that Viscount Snowden would not see his way to run in face of Holy Writ, but would follow the sound advice of the great man who had so much experience with his many wives and children."¹

The following account of the infliction of the punishment of birching is quoted from *The British Medical Journal* of March 20th, 1937:—

"The child is taken into a bare gloomy room, his clothes are removed, and he is tied up hand and foot to a tripod after the police surgeon has examined him to see that his heart will stand the whipping. A police constable wields the birch—a heavy bundle of twigs which has been soaked in brine—and

¹ *The Times*, June 10th, 1932.

after each stroke the doctor again examines the child. He makes a final examination after the child is released and administers any necessary treatment. The child is not usually fit to attend school for two or three days."

Other methods of "reforming" children and youths of both sexes involve long periods of incarceration in homes and institutions of various types.

Society holds the 100,000 persons, under the age of twenty-one, who, on the average, are charged annually in the Courts of England and Wales, responsible for their offences, but it has never given them an opportunity of developing the sense of responsibility, and in many it has choked or hindered efforts at self-development. Some degree of adaptation of the young to society is essential, and some children find it more difficult to make this adaptation than others, but in punishing them for their failure, and in inflicting on them for life the stigma of criminality, society is really punishing them for its own errors and omissions. In a later chapter a scheme is outlined which would have the effect of giving the youth a much increased degree of freedom and responsibility at earlier ages. This will be more conveniently considered after we have examined present educational procedure in England.

THE SEX URGE AND THE YOUNG

We have now to consider the second direction in which the disharmony between the dictates of nature and the prohibitions of modern society asserts itself, the refusal of many of the young to observe the established code of sexual relations.

In the sex urge we meet with a real instinct which man shares with other animals, but which by virtue of his intelligence and emotions he has surrounded with a variety of adjuncts and diversities unknown to other animals. In forms below man copulation is usually a brief process, and in many species is confined to one season of the year. Man is the most highly sexed of all animals and he spends a large part of his time and energy in providing for his sex outlet. I have examined this question in detail elsewhere,¹ and for the immediate purpose we are concerned only with the frustration of the sex urge in the young. The instinctive urge is for physical union, though even in this fundamental matter the human being, in the complete

¹ *Sacrifice to Attis*, 1936

absence of instruction, would probably have to go through a process of learning which does not seem to be necessary in other animals. In the human species the urge may be associated with a special emotional affect termed "being in love" which tends to fix the desire—temporarily at least—on one person. If there is a wish for offspring from the union it is an acquired wish (v. p. 26).

Repression of sex activity in the young is comparatively modern in social history. There are no prohibitions against sexual intercourse below a certain age in the code of Hammurabi (B.C. 2265) nor in the Mosaic law nor in Roman law, though under the last the age for marriage was fixed at fourteen for males and twelve for females. In this country sexual intercourse with a female below the age of sixteen was made an offence under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885, but the legal age for marriage remained fourteen for the male and twelve for the female as originally accepted under ecclesiastical law. Up to the eighteenth century, marriage at the age of fourteen or fifteen was by no means rare; the Wife of Bath was married at twelve, and Shakespeare makes Juliet fourteen; Margaret Beaufort bore the son who was to become Henry VII before she was fifteen, and Lady Isabella Bennet married the Duke of Grafton, the natural son of Charles II, when she was twelve and became the mother of the second Duke before she was sixteen. In 1929 the age was raised to sixteen for both sexes, and this is now the legal age for marriage *provided the parents consent*. If either party is below twenty-one and the parents of that party refuse consent the marriage cannot take place (except by making false statements to the Registrar) unless the refusal of the parents is over-ruled on application to a magistrate. If the parties live together unmarried, any offspring they may have are termed "illegitimate"; both parties are subject to certain legal disabilities, and the disregard of convention may entail serious social and economic penalties.

The Act raising the age of marriage to sixteen was a House of Lords measure, and this change in a law concerning the most intimate of human relationships, which had been accepted for centuries, was passed by the Commons without discussion. Judging from the debate in the House of Lords the chief motive which appears to have influenced the supporters of the Bill was desire to protect young girls against unscrupulous men, a laudable

object which has no doubt been beneficial in the direction intended. But fifteen years' experience of the Act has shown that in another direction it has caused distress. It has meant that a pregnant woman below sixteen who has the opportunity and would be glad to marry the father of her child and thus redeem her position, must by law have her character besmirched and her child rendered illegitimate. In 1939, in England and Wales, 199 women below the age of sixteen became mothers and their offspring were necessarily bastardised by the operation of the law, however willing the fathers may have been to marry the mothers.

Another argument which clearly influenced the House of Lords was the belief, expressed by several of the speakers, that pregnancy in young girls is undesirable on the ground of their physiological immaturity. Yet there is no evidence that early pregnancy is prejudicial either to mother or offspring, and there are good reasons for the view that if a woman is not adequately developed for childbirth she will not conceive. One indication of unfitness for parturition is the occurrence of still-birth, and in the 201 infants born to the 199 mothers under sixteen mentioned above, the still-birth rate was 3.5 per cent., which may be compared with the rate of 3.8 per cent. for all infants and 4.7 per cent. for all illegitimate infants. Lord Buckmaster, who introduced the Bill, himself quoted "ancient text-books" which justified the ages of twelve and fourteen on the grounds that—

"It is not because the parties are supposed to have sufficient discretion to appreciate the consequences of so critical and responsible an engagement, but because in general they have by that time arrived at physical maturity and the worst social evils would ensure from holding them incapable of marrying."

Lord Buckmaster's comment on this statement was—"I cannot help thinking that men and women grew more rapidly to maturity three or four hundred years ago than they do to-day." Such a change, however, in so few generations is highly improbable. So far from early pregnancy being prejudicial, the period twelve to sixteen is actually the best age for child-bearing.¹

¹ The well-known text-book *Williams' Obstetrics* (eighth edition, 1941) states, "Contrary to general belief labour is exceptionally rapid and easy in very young primipare. Harris, after analysing the histories of 500 such cases, reached the conclusion that from the purely obstetric point of view sixteen years or less represents

In consequence of the social and legal difficulties which are placed in the way of natural mating of the young, a large section of youth is ceasing to recognise any obligation to marry as a preliminary to entering into sexual relations. Those who have had opportunities of observing human behaviour beneath the cloak of conventionality are well aware that there has been a marked increase in the practice of young men and women living together without being married, or of having sex relations under conditions which do not amount to prostitution, unions which have doubtless been facilitated by knowledge of contraceptives, and are generally childless. These personal impressions have received astonishing confirmation from statistics published recently by the Registrar-General, which show that in 1939, in England and Wales, 20,981 women under twenty years of age gave birth to their first legitimate child, and of these maternities, 15,427 occurred within the first eight months of marriage (14,787 being within the first seven months). This means that some three-quarters of these women were already pregnant when they married. To complete the picture, there were 5,219 illegitimate maternities to women under twenty, and an unknown number of abortions. Between the ages of twenty and twenty-five there were 85,999 first legitimate maternities, of which 28,092 occurred within the first eight months, and there were 7,851 illegitimate maternities. The proportion born in the early months of marriage falls off rapidly with each year of life, showing that the movement is not one affecting society generally but only the young. It may be that some of the births were to couples already intending to get married who anticipated their union, but those who are in a position to judge, know that more frequently there was no intention to marry before the pregnancy occurred.

Further evidence of the disregard of the sex code by the young is contained in the interesting *Report on the Work of the Children's Branch* issued by the Home Office in 1938, which has already been quoted. This shows that under the age of seventeen the optimum age for the birth of the first child—a view which is shared by Gache and Bondy."

In the paper referred to, J. W. Harris, of the Johns Hopkins University, says, "Based upon a study of the 500 patients comprised in this report, it seems permissible to conclude that pregnancy and labour are attended by no greater danger in the young primiparæ than in the older women. On the other hand, the duration of labour is actually shorter, and our figures show that the size of the children is not inferior to that noted in older women."

A similar investigation in one of the large London hospitals (not yet published) has resulted in the same conclusion.

convictions of boys for all indictable offences outnumbered those of the girls by sixteen to one, but in the sub-group formed of those needing "care and protection" or "being beyond control," the girls outnumbered the boys. The reason for this difference of distribution, according to the Report, is that "amongst the older girls there are to be found a greater number in a state of emotional, adolescent instability" which leads to immorality. Light is thrown upon the nature of this "emotional adolescent instability" by the wide prevalence of venereal disease among these girls. Of 172 girls admitted to senior schools in the first year after the coming into force of the Children and Young Persons Act (1933), sixty-one needed treatment for venereal disease, and of 1,139 girls below the age of seventeen admitted to Approved Schools during the three years 1934 to 1936, no less than 251, or very nearly one-quarter, were found to be suffering from venereal disease. The advice of the Home Office was specially sought in regard to fifty-six girls under seventeen (eighteen under sixteen) who were pregnant, and of these, nine were suffering from syphilis or gonorrhœa and two had had previous miscarriages.¹

Among boys, the incidence of venereal disease is much lower, probably because opportunities for sexual intercourse are less available to penniless boys than to girls. The risk of infection by these diseases is greatest in the young not only because of their ignorance of the possibilities, but also, even if they are aware of their dangers, their lack of knowledge of how to guard against them. The determination of the authorities to ignore this social evil in the young is well illustrated by the fact that in 1938 a film entitled *The Price of Ignorance* was exhibited with the description "The dangers of syphilis and gonorrhœa shown pictorially. Persons under eighteen not admitted." This is like prohibiting children from learning to swim before the age of eighteen while still allowing them to run the risks of drowning. The bulk of the sexual offences committed by boys are tabulated under the heading "indecent assaults on females,"

¹ Here is a similar picture of later date: "Mr. H. Cecil Heath, barrister, said yesterday at a London conference on drink and disease: 'I recently visited a remand home for girls on the outskirts of London. Of the 80 girls under sixteen, 63 had venereal disease and 42 were expectant mothers.'" *News Chronicle*, February 24th, 1944.

Many of these unhappy girls have deliberately chosen a life of prostitution, and when charged before the magistrates refuse to give any undertaking to alter their mode of life, choosing to be sent to prison rather than enter an institution.

but magistrates have frequently expressed the opinion that in many cases the girl is more responsible than the boy.

The severity of the struggle the young are compelled to undergo is veiled by the fact that it purports to be for their benefit, though it is in fact to a large extent imposed upon them in the interests of certain derived emotions. Psychologists are well aware that repression of the sex urge imposes a great strain on many of the young, and may even lead to lifelong neurosis. Biologically, the unnecessary and unnatural prohibition of sex activity in the young has undoubtedly had a serious effect on the community as one of the factors in reducing the birth-rate. The discouragement of early union both by legal enactment and social convention has led to the mean age of women (excluding widows) at marriage in England and Wales gradually rising to 25½ years. As a woman's reproductive life extends approximately from fifteen to forty-five, a period of thirty years, it follows that one-third of it is reproductively functionless within the bonds of matrimony under our present social system, and this the third when her reproductive capacities are at their best. The social condemnation of extra-marital relations encourages the use of contraceptives and leads to criminal abortion.

The facts and figures set out in the preceding pages are sufficient to show that a large section of the youth of both sexes is leading an ugly, furtive and dangerous sex-life. If this is to be changed or lessened a more liberal attitude of society towards relations between the sexes is essential, unions of a more elastic character than marriage being recognised, and increased opportunity to form such unions being given to the young. Of the rights of parents over their children, perhaps their power to forbid the marriage of grown men and women until they have reached the age of twenty-one is the one most out of harmony with Nature. The selection of a mate is the most intensely personal thing in life, and emphatically one which should be left to the choice of each man and woman. However solicitous the parents may be for their offspring, they cannot be aware of all the factors influencing the selection, and in forbidding a marriage they accept a terrible responsibility. It is impossible to see any ground for arbitrarily fixing twenty-one as the age at which men and women may act for themselves; and since the State may train men to kill their fellow-men several years before that age, it seems logical that it should equally give them the right to create life. If a

magistrate is called upon to overrule the parents' prohibition, he is required to give a decision of supreme importance to the parties with even less knowledge of their characters, circumstances, temptations and prospects than the parents have. To bring nature and society into harmony, an "age of maturity" should be fixed at seventeen, and consent of parents to marriage should not be necessary thereafter; if for legal purposes an age for marriage is required it should not be above fourteen for girls, while if sixteen is retained for boys it should be accompanied by a provision allowing marriage at an earlier age in exceptional cases, which are much less likely to arise among boys than girls. Increased facilities for early marriage should be accompanied by increased opportunities for dissolving unsatisfactory unions, which will be better considered when we are dealing with the question of marriage and the birth-rate.

The recognition of adulthood at an earlier age than is the practice at present, with the corollary that it involves a higher degree of responsibility, would necessitate training in the early years directed towards developing a spirit of independence and self-confidence. It would mean reversing the whole tendency of modern education which in the interests of certain social institutions aims at prolonging the period of tutelage and restraint as much as possible. In the next chapter an effort is made to justify this assertion.

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATION OF TO-DAY—CRIPPLING YOUTH

"Kings, priests and statesmen, blast the human flower
Even in its tender bud ; their influence darts
Like subtle poison through the bloodless veins
Of desolate society. The child,
Ere he can lisp his mother's sacred name,
Swells with the unnatural pride of crime, and lifts
His baby-sword even in a hero's mood.
This infant arm becomes the bloodiest scourge
Of devastated earth ; while specious names,
Learnt in soft childhood's unsuspecting hour,
Serve as sophisms with which manhood dims
Bright reason's ray, and sanctifies the sword
Upraised to shed a brother's innocent blood.
Let priest-led slaves cease to proclaim that man
Inherits vice and misery, when Force
and Falsehood hang even o'er the cradled babe.
Stiffing with rudest grasp all natural good."

Shelley.

THE writer of the article on *Education* in the Encyclopædia Britannica (ninth ed.) says "Many definitions of education have been given, but underlying them all is the conception that it denotes an attempt on the part of the adult members of a human society to shape the development of the coming generation in accordance with its own ideals of life." These words were written some sixty years ago, but they still express the fundamental principle of British education. There is a tendency to over-estimate the function of education as a means of imparting knowledge, but we shall see that instruction is definitely secondary in British education to the imparting of certain ideals, whether these be expressed generally as "development of character" or be more specifically defined.

On the above definition of education it follows that if the ideals of the adults of a society change, the teaching of the young must also be changed. But these processes by no means necessarily occur simultaneously. Ideals change slowly, and change is often resisted, hence there is a time-lag between any change in the ideals of adults and those which are taught to the young. Consequently in the event of any tendency to change in the ideals of the adults, the position of those who are resisting the change is strengthened by the fact that the threatened ideals are those which have been taught to the young, and are likely to be most vigorously defended

by them. The benefit of the system is reciprocal ; the adults teach the young the ideals which they believe to be in their best interests, and in return the young strengthen and support those ideals. The principle defined unavoidably tends to make education unprogressive as far as ideals are concerned, or at least unreceptive to new ideals.

The ideals underlying English education at present are the inculcation of religious emotion, the development of national loyalty, and the upholding of established social institutions. It would be possible to substantiate these statements by quotations from a number of educational reports, but there are two documents which set out very clearly and completely the existing educational ideals. These are the Reports of the Sub-committee of the Conservative Party, entitled *Educational Aims* and *A Plan for Youth*, which were issued in the autumn of 1942. They constitute probably the nearest expression of the views of the governing class on education which can be obtained, and accordingly they must now be examined in some detail.

The reports were not hasty expressions of opinion. The Committee which prepared them sat for a year under the Chairmanship of a Fellow of an Oxford College, and they were drafted by the Headmaster of a well-known Public School. It is true that the Reports were not endorsed by the General Committee of the Conservative Party, but this was clearly owing to the outcry which immediately arose over the proposals for compulsion contained in the second Report ; the general principles laid down in the Reports were universally approved.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL LOYALTY

This is given the first place in the Reports of the Committee, and it is a loyalty which conceives of Britain as having a world-wide mission. The Committee say :—

“ It must be a primary duty of national education to develop a strong sense of national obligation in the individual citizen, to encourage in him an ardent understanding of the State's needs, and to render him capable of serving those needs. . . . This purpose demands that the citizen should learn how to work for the good of all as well as for his own good, and be trained to the use of arms in his country's defence. But it also demands a warmly felt understanding on his part of his country's place and task in the world. The

lessons that we have been painfully learning in the present war must no longer be omitted from the instruction of youth. Our children must be taught to be proud of their ancestors and their inheritance, and to accept the consequent responsibilities of a colonising and missionary world-power. . . . From pride in the past the teaching leads plainly to responsibility in the future ; not to jingoism or world-dominion, but to the difficult part that the nation has still to play in the world's common history."

The Committee speak of " the ideal of the nation as a leader among nations " and it is clear that they do not visualise any post-war diminution of national sovereignty. To fit the future citizens for their national obligations they are to be trained in those backwoods qualities which we noted in the last chapter, and in particular they are to be instructed in technical work useful for all the Services, such as aircraft recognition, signalling and map-making. Encouragement is to be given to organisations meeting pre-military needs of the Services, such as Cadet Corps, Air Training Corps, Boys' Brigades, Scouts and Guides, and eventually a Federation of Youth is to be formed to which all between fourteen and eighteen were required to belong, the last proposal being one which did not generally commend itself. It would seem that the Committee had been influenced by the success of the German methods in making the youth of a country into an efficient fighting machine.

RELIGIOUS TEACHING

The Committee commence this section of their Report by saying that many religious thinkers and leaders of all denominations share the opinion expressed by Mr. T. S. Eliot in his book, *The Idea of a Christian Society*, that " English society, though still in form Christian, is now in fact largely neutral," and they continue :—

" If this is true, the need for effective practical agreement between the State and the Churches is great and immediate—and not less immediate on the side of the Churches than on that of the State, because if such an agreement is not reached while there is yet time it is probable that the Churches will more and more find themselves driven out of the educational field, as the popular drift away from religion gathers volume, unchecked by any agreed measure of reclamation."

Here is a frank admission that there is a popular drift away from religion, and that it is the function of education to check this, as much in the interests of the Churches as the State. The Committee support their argument for religious teaching in schools by the remark, "The recent history of modern France, Germany and Russia seems to indicate clearly that no modern State can afford to adopt an attitude of indifference to religion," and it is instructive to note the way in which the Committee succeed in drawing the same lesson from each of these countries in spite of their very diversified experiences.

Of France they say :—

"In France after the victory of anti-clericalism religion ceased to be a matter of serious concern to governments. The State had in effect officially abolished it and seen no necessity of putting anything in its place. It is reasonable to posit an intimate connection between this fact and the moral and spiritual collapse of the Third Republic."

The Committee do not further expand or elucidate their statement. It is presumed that by the "victory of anti-clericalism" they mean the separation of Church and State which occurred in 1905, but it is possible only to guess at what they mean by the "moral and spiritual collapse" of the Third Republic. If they regard the separation itself as the collapse, we have to remember that the general progress and culture of France showed no decline in the subsequent years, and that from 1914 to 1918 the country fought a great and victorious war. If they mean the defeat of France by Germany, in 1940, it would seem that they consider absence of religious teaching in schools to have been a more important factor in that defeat than the loss of young life in the first World War—greater in France in proportion to the population, than in any other country; the relinquishment by France after that war of the Rhine frontier in response to a promise of Britain and America to guarantee her security, a promise which was not fulfilled; and the refusal of the British Government to support France in taking action when Hitler reoccupied the Rhinelands. Moreover the Committee completely disregard the fact that although, according to them, religion in France was "officially abolished" in 1905, it continued to flourish actively among the people. Up to the outbreak of war at least, religious processions were frequent, shrines were

crowded and the daily worshippers in the Roman Catholic Churches and Cathedrals were far more numerous than those ordinarily seen in English places of worship.

Of Germany, contrasting it with France, the Committee say :—

“ The rulers of modern Germany, on the other hand, knew well that their country could not live without a religion of some kind. Therefore, the National Socialist attack on Christianity has been accompanied by the promotion of a substitute religion, strange and repulsive to us but terribly attractive to the German soul.”

Here also the Committee are disappointingly brief, for they say nothing more to justify their statement that Germany was indifferent to religion, nor do they indicate their meaning when they speak of a “ substitute religion.” But, in fact, Hitler has not been indifferent to religion ; he has attacked the Churches which have not supported him, but he has never attacked Christianity as such. In *Mein Kampf* he speaks of “ the true spirit of Christianity ” and of its “ Sublime Founder ” (Eng. trans., 1939) ; he has frequently called on God in his speeches ; he has never (so far as I am aware) ceased to be a member of the Roman Catholic Church, and he has made a concordat with the Pope, who represents the largest body of Christians.¹

Russia could not be ignored ; but in view of its astonishing achievements in spite of lack of religion, this country clearly presented a problem. The Committee say :—

“ In Russia there has been an immense generation of mental and spiritual energy since the overthrow of the Tsarist regime. The liberation of new energies was accompanied by a violent rejection of the religious beliefs associated in the minds of the revolutionary leaders and of the masses with a hated political system. . . . The immediate post-revolutionary period was very strongly marked by the attachment of quasi-religious enthusiasm to the new social objects or ideals held out or opened up with dramatic suddenness to the ordinary citizen. The unaccustomed sense of belonging to a country

¹ In his speech in the Reichstag, February 20th, 1938, Hitler said : “ In this hour I would ask of the Lord God only this, that, as in the past, so in the years to come He would give His blessing to our work and our action, to our judgment and our resolution, that He will safeguard us from all false pride and from all cowardly servility, that He may grant to us to find the straight path which His Providence has ordained for the German people, and that He may ever give us the courage to do the right, never to falter, never to yield before any violence, before any danger.” *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler*. Translated by Norman H. Baynes.

which belongs to each and all, the missionary desire to spread this new found gospel, the inspiring duty of defending it against all comers, the urgent necessity of making good in a few short years all the time lost by past generations—these are motives strong enough to eclipse, at least in appearance and for a time, the emotive force of religion, especially in the young. Russia like Germany, has provided her people with a very powerful substitute for religion.”

The words “spiritual energy” and “quasi-religious enthusiasm” used in this paragraph, like “emotional materialism,” used of Russia in another paragraph, bring us into a realm of indefiniteness precluding discussion in the absence of definitions or a clarification which the Committee do not make. But it is to be noted that the fundamental urge in the Russian revolution was the very antithesis of that which maintains a religion. The latter demands before all things a belief in a supernatural power, and there was no vestige of such a belief in the Russian revolutionaries. It also requires unquestioning acceptance of statements from the priesthood, in the name of faith, which may be quite contrary to experience. The Russian revolution claimed to be based upon reason. The real ground for displacing the Church was the fact that it continued to support the Tsarist regime. When fear of this became groundless the Soviet authorities offered no further opposition to the Churches.

Apprehension of Soviet influence in this country is very apparent in the Committee’s Report. Speaking of Britain, they say :—

“There can be no doubt that religion has suffered a serious decline . . . which has not been offset by the growth of any popular or new doctrine which is capable of successfully filling the void created in men’s minds by the widespread weakening of belief. There is indeed, a very real danger that this emptiness may come to be occupied by a kind of emotional materialism, copied from the Russian original but lacking the historical roots which give to contemporary Russian materialism an almost spiritual force.”

Fear of Bolshevism is also shown in the following paragraph :—

“Our social evolution has been gradual. So far it has managed to avoid really serious internal conflict, and to preserve a fairly continuous balance between the best of the old and the best of the new. The danger points have been more or less successfully circumvented. But the present war

is putting the social compromise to a very dangerous strain indeed ; and the influence of the Russian system upon our own cannot be sensibly ignored. (We are thinking of the emotional quasi-religious influence and not of 'economic' influences.) There is an evident possibility that the Russian example will seem to great numbers of people in this country, an example to be followed here. Upon those who are not aware of the vast differences between the two countries and between their social and political backgrounds and who are not sustained by belief in a supra-temporal order, this idea is capable of exerting an extremely powerful attraction. We do not mean to suggest that there is or should be any opposition between the ideal of social progress and religious belief. But we do suggest that decay of religious belief exposes a people thereby deprived of respect for its own past, to the temptation of violent and ill-considered social experiment."

It will be seen that the Committee devote a good deal of effort to showing the harmfulness of disregard of religion by Soviet Russia, and the paragraph just quoted makes it clear that they regard religious teaching in this country as a protection against Bolshevism, yet a strong State religion in Tsarist Russia did not prevent the revolution. The Orthodox Church was powerful in Court circles and its Eikons were venerated by the peasants throughout the country. It was not its religion which was fatal to the Church under the Tsars ; it was its alliance with the governing class.

Having derived so much support for their views from the experience of France, Germany and Russia, it is disappointing to find that the Committee make no reference to Italy which, though a highly religious country, actually preceded Germany in the establishment of totalitarian principles ; nor do they refer to Spain where the National Church zealously helped Franco to re-establish autocracy.

SECULAR MORAL TRAINING

Under this heading the Committee make the following observations, which seem to show a curious lack of touch with reality :—

" We have no doubt that, of all the immediate educational problems with which the nation is confronted, the problem of restoring and recreating civic morale is the greatest and most urgent. The slackening of moral fibre is common to all classes, though it is the result of different causes and shows

itself by different symptoms on different levels. If the notion of culpability on the part of a class is admissible, it would be difficult for the monied classes to establish a plea of not guilty. Setting before themselves an ever higher standard of material comfort and enjoyment, they have weakened both their will and ability to serve the State and their powers of leadership. . . . At the other end of the social scale a wholly different reason, for which its victims cannot be blamed, has made it difficult for the instinct of social and national service to flourish. Prolonged years of mass-unemployment have inflicted cruel damage upon the sturdy inheritance of innumerable wage-earning families. It will take a long period of social security to repair this damage ; and during that period it will be especially necessary for the State to do everything in its power to build up the social confidence and self-reliance of the children whose parents were undeservedly broken by unemployment."

Yet once more there is an element of uncertainty as to the Committee's meaning, since they give no definition of "civic morale," the decline of which in the working classes they attribute to unemployment. Usually the word is taken to mean courage and determination in the face of difficulty, and on this definition it is pertinent to point out that the criticism of the Committee was not made in 1939 when unemployment was rife and when no test of civic morale was possible, but in 1942, after three years of war in which the people had shown, in their bomb-blasted homes, in their toil in field and factory, and in their courage and endurance on the battlefield, a degree of morale unprecedented in their history. The Committee appear to hold Lamarckian views on heredity, but the facts once more show that there is nothing inherently wrong with the people.

THE COMMITTEE AND CLASS DIVISION

In the above quotation we note the recognition by the Committee (perhaps unintentional) that the monied classes have powers to lead the State.

Under the heading of "Ability and Leadership" the Committee emphasise the importance of "detecting and bringing to fruition exceptional qualities of mind and character at all educable ages, and they continue :—

"This raises at once the whole question of the 'public schools' and the preparatory schools attached to the public

school system. We do not intend to discuss that question here ; since we hope to make it the subject of a separate future report. We will only say that in our judgement the special contribution made by the public and preparatory schools to the end we are discussing (the education of talent and the development of leadership) is too valuable to be jeopardised ; and that it would be jeopardised if they were to lose their independence and become a mere part of the State system. The aim should be, on the contrary, to increase the value of their special contribution."

The difference in the treatment the two types of school are to receive is conspicuous ; the national schools are to be under full control by the State, but the Public Schools must retain their independence.

A curious indication of the class consciousness of the Committee is contained in the statement also in this part of the Report that, "The scholar, the philosopher, the artist, the scientist, the engineer, the farm-worker and the artisan are equally necessary types of citizen. But each must learn not to despise but to admire the other." I think most people were unaware that these classes do despise each other.

The principles dominating British education to-day have been illustrated exclusively from the Report of the Conservative Sub-committee as a matter of convenience, but many other reports could have been used. It is perhaps desirable to give one illustration from schoolmasters themselves. In a letter to *The Times* (September 16th, 1943) the Headmasters of Sedbergh, Repton, Clifton, Marlborough, Radley and Sherborne lay down the following principles : the whole basis of public school education is Christian ; the governing body is independent of any other authority ; the child belongs to the parents and not to the State, and parents have the right by payment of fees to choice and voice in their children's education ; and education is the training of the whole man in a way of life and includes in the forefront of its aims the teaching of service, responsibility, integrity and discipline. After setting out these principles the Headmasters continue :

"The public schools have not set out to produce leaders. If they have actually done so, it is because these virtues happen to make the kind of man whom others trust and follow. . . . It is for such standards of Christianity, independence, teaching,

service and discipline, and not for privilege or snobbery, that parents have been willing to pay so dearly and often to sacrifice so much."

The belief that parents do not send their children to Public Schools for social advantages seems, again, to indicate a lack of touch with reality on the part of schoolmasters.

Ruling authorities in various countries have utilised the schools for the propagation of a national religion or national ideal, and for the inculcation of the idea of service. Hitler, in Germany, forced every type of organisation for the young to accept his principles. In Japan, Dr. Kato Genchi, Professor of Shinto in Tokio Imperial University, gives the following picture :—

"The schools are naturally the great forcing-house of the State religion. . . . It is by sedulous teaching of the young that the Emperor-Cult has been promoted in these days to such monstrous growth. Not only are the puerile mythology and the preposterous history incorporated in the school books ; not only are the pupils marched to the Shrines on festival days for worship ; but the worship of the Emperor is inculcated in the school itself. Every recognised school has its Imperial Portrait—an enlarged photograph of the reigning Emperor. . . . On holidays the pupils assemble at the usual hour and in absolute silence they stand while the Imperial Rescript on Education is read and then bow low to the Portrait." ¹

Japan is not the only country in which puerile mythology and preposterous history is taught to children in the interests of religion.

Nor is this age the first to recognise the tremendous power which control over the education of the young gives to Authority. Plutarch, speaking of Lycurgus, says :—

"But when a wise man had consented to be king over a people newly constituted and pliant to his every wish, what should have been his first care, unless it was the rearing of boys and the training of youths so that there might be no confusing differences in their characters, but that they might be moulded and fashioned from the very outset so as to walk harmoniously together in the same path of virtue. This indeed was what helped Lycurgus to secure among other things, the stability and permanence of his laws. The Spar-

¹ *Rise of a Pagan State.* A. Morgan Young, 1939.

tans took oaths to maintain these laws, it is true, but this would have availed little had he not by means of his training and education of the boys, infused his laws, as it were into their characters and made the emulous love of his government an integral part of their rearing." *Comparison of Lycurgus and Numa*. Loeb translation.

Having noted the principles prevailing in British education, let us now consider the effects of some of these on the children.

THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGIOUS TEACHING IN SCHOOLS

Religious teaching in schools is much more than an effort to impart instruction in facts, leaving these alone to exert their influence. Great concern is also shown to give it an emotional side by insisting upon a daily "corporate act of worship" (formerly known as "prayers") and by striving to give the child a direct personal relation to the teaching by impressing upon it the way religion may affect its life and future. The emotions of either love or fear may be appealed to, and the following quotations are given to illustrate the widely different methods of approach to children adopted by different denominations, methods which would almost seem to have emanated from different religions.

The Cambridgeshire Syllabus of Religious Teaching for Schools stresses throughout the love of God. It advises teachers of young children to select stories from the Bible which "provide an experience of loving companionship and happy security," and its extreme solicitude to avoid anything which might alarm or distress the children is shown by the following remarkable statement :—

"For this reason pictures of the Crucifixion if shown at all need to be chosen with extreme care. For young children most of the cheaper reproductions are quite unsuitable; probably the best picture is Perugino's Crucifixion which eliminates all suggestion of physical suffering and sets it against the charming and peaceful background of the Umbrian landscape. A picture of the Resurrection should always be shown at the end of any lesson on the death of our Lord in order to relieve the suspense and to give the 'happy ending' which is inseparable to it in the minds of adults, but which the children do not know. Many teachers feel that a repro-

duction of the Crucifixion scene should never be shown to children under ten years of age."

The writer of this paragraph seems unaware that children may see representations of the horrific aspect of Christianity at many places other than school. The Syllabus does not dwell much upon sin, and there does not appear to be any reference to Hell in the volume.

In strong contrast to the above is the following extract from *A Simple Course of Religion* by the Most Rev. M. Sheean, D.D., a book specially intended for children, which, I am informed, is the nearest Roman Catholic equivalent to the *Cambridgeshire Syllabus*. It is dated 1941 :—

"If you were trapped in a burning house you would die a most painful death, yet your suffering would be nothing compared with the sufferings of a soul in Hell. Besides your sufferings would last for only a few moments, but the suffering of the wicked in Hell would go on for ever and ever. After a million years they will not be any nearer to the end of their punishment, for their punishment will never have an end. Jesus the son of God speaks of Hell as 'everlasting fire.' . . . God wants you to think about Hell so that you may keep away from sin. . . . God did not make Hell to put you into but to keep you out of it. If you die in mortal sin God must send you to Hell ; He cannot save you from it. God died on the cross to give you every help to keep you out of Hell. If He has to send you there you will have no one to blame but yourself. He himself has spoken terrible words about Hell and we must believe him."

The conception of sin and the evil arising from sin are kept prominent throughout the book. Some children might be puzzled as to how a place can be made to keep people out of it, but the ecclesiastical mind can no doubt explain this.

Both these quotations show the impossibility of giving children any conception of Christianity which corresponds to that possessed by an adult. Any understanding of religion—whether its tenets be accepted or not—demands experience of the emotions of life, and of the great events of life, birth and death ; and any value to the individual in religion depends upon how it assists him in emotional crises. More time is now spent on religious instruction than on any other subject in the curriculum, but religion in any real sense cannot be taught before the age of fourteen or fifteen,

when the intellectual powers are adequately developed and capacity for more abstruse study exists. What is called religious teaching in schools is neither historic Christianity nor Christianity as understood by an adult of any denomination. It is a series of more or less pleasing or terrifying stories and legends with an emotional background intended to create in the receptive mind of the child an impression which will forestall and neutralise the application of the critical faculty to religion in later years. It is not taught in the interests of the child but in those of denominational religion.

Children are taught that it is wrong not to believe, yet belief is not a matter of will. We cannot force ourselves to believe a thing ; we can only act as though we believed it, which, according to circumstances, may be mere conventional politeness, hypocrisy or lying, and many more children are doubtful or even frankly sceptical than is generally realised. Some are quick to notice inconsistencies or insincerities in the teachings or in the behaviour of the teachers which shake their faith, but they early learn to conceal their doubts. Those who wish to believe and are striving to do so against intellectual doubt may develop a sense of guilt which later may play a part in the production of neurosis. Those who have no belief and are not concerned thereat, early get a lesson in that hypocritical simulation of belief in religion which is so prevalent in all classes ; fond parents do not all realise what veritable little humbugs some children can be. A few children are genuinely terrified by the fear of hell. Here is the cry of one who suffered severely in early life from the religious zeal of his parents :

“ Let me protest against the untruth (would that I could apply to it any other word !) that evangelical religion or any religion in a violent form, is a wholesome or valuable or desirable adjunct to human life. It divides heart from heart. It sets up a vain chimerical ideal, in the barren pursuit of which all the tender, indulgent affections, all the genial play of life, all the exquisite pleasures and soft resignations of the body, all that enlarges and calms the soul, are exchanged for what is harsh and void and negative. It encourages a stern and ignorant spirit of condemnation ; it throws altogether out of gear the healthy movements of the conscience ; it invents virtues which are sterile and cruel ; it invents sins which are

no sins at all but which darken the heaven of innocent joy with futile clouds of remorse.”¹

An unfortunate effect of the present system of teaching religion in schools is that it encourages interreligious or interdenominational dissension. This is the result of the practice of teaching different religions or different denominations in separate schools or classes. Protestant children see the Roman Catholic or Jewish children going to their special schools and the differentiation quickly arouses in them an impression that there is something mysterious and unsatisfactory about these excluded groups. When they mix outside the classrooms they may compare notes, and on reporting the conversation at home they may be reproved or forbidden to talk about religion with their friends again. In a large Public School all Christian denominations listened to morning and evening prayers in Latin, but the Jews, though learning Latin in the classrooms with the rest, stayed outside the Hall until prayers were over, being thus marked off from their schoolfellows from the day of their entry into the school; and some boys get their first lesson in anti-Semitism at school.

Dogmatic instruction on any subject in which questioning is forbidden or discouraged, tends to check the natural development of the processes of thought in the young child. Religion is one of the subjects which exercises this effect, but the question can be better considered after we have examined the early stages of mental development in the child.

THE INHIBITION OF THINKING BY MODERN EDUCATION

There is an astonishing volume of evidence that the results of modern education in the purely intellectual sphere are disappointing. Various reports show that a considerable proportion of adolescents of to-day are not only ill-informed but are disinclined to make any mental effort. Here, for instance, is an extract from the *Report of the Committee on Amenities and Welfare Conditions in the Women's Services* which was issued in 1942 :—

“The widespread ignorance about current affairs in the Army had attracted the attention of all thoughtful regimental officers. Many men had not an elementary idea of why the country was at war. . . . Many soldiers, like many civilians,

¹ *Father and Son*. Sir Edmund Gosse, 1907.

have an abysmal ignorance of national and international affairs. If men are apathetic about education women are more so. The word 'education' unfortunately excites little enthusiasm among large sections of young people. Many young minds, coerced or cajoled over the fence of School Certificate recoil from any suggestion which carries with it recollections of classrooms and text-books. They regard the words 'further education' as the dreary slogan of a salesman whose goods cannot hope to compete with the superior attractions provided by the cinema, the wireless and the internal combustion engine. It is a melancholy reflection on the educational failures of the last 25 years that many young people refuse to use their minds at all outside working hours, and their only cry is for amusement which can be produced without any demand upon their initiative, industry or intelligence. . . . The inference that amusement is sacred and nothing must be allowed to interfere with the hours devoted to the cinema and dance-hall is an alarming sidelight on the outlook of the older no less than of the younger generation. . . . Generally speaking an atmosphere of complete indifference about educational matters overhangs the Women's Services. 'The girls aren't interested.' 'No one would come to the classes if they were held.' 'The girls have too much to do,' are phrases to which members of the Committee have listened over and over again when visiting the various units."

A Commissioner of Girl Guides, who is also an interviewer of girls of sixteen and seventeen under the Registration of Youth Scheme, says :—

"Over 60 per cent. of the girls interviewed go to the cinema (or cinema and dance-hall) twice a week and 40 per cent. go three times or more. Very few take any kind of physical exercise or walk or cycle for pleasure, and very few read books of any kind."¹

This adverse type of criticism is by no means confined to those who have been educated in the national schools. Many who presumably have had a more costly education show little capacity for thinking. Lord Moran, President of the Royal College of Physicians, speaking in a debate in the House of Lords, said :—

"I was Dean of a London School of Medicine for twenty-five years, and every year there came to that school 60 or 70 new students, and for the next five, six or seven years we watched them using the education they had already been

¹ *Spectator*, October 16th, 1943.

given, applying it to a new task, that of becoming a doctor. The results on the whole were disconcerting. Many of the boys were lacking in reasoning power and many were without curiosity. A student who is without curiosity is not a student at all.”¹

Lack of ability to think, among those receiving elementary education is no new observation. Nearly a century ago Matthew Arnold, the distinguished Inspector of Schools for some thirty-five years, writing of pupil-teachers, a picked class, said :—

“ I have been much struck in examining them towards the close of their apprenticeship, when they are generally at least eighteen years old, with the utter disproportion between the great amount of positive information and the low degree of mental culture and intelligence which they exhibit. Young men, whose knowledge of grammar, of the minutest details of geographical and historical fact, and above all of mathematics is surprising, often cannot paraphrase a plain passage of prose or poetry without totally misapprehending it, or write half a page of composition on any subject without falling into gross blunders of taste and expression.” *General Report for the Year 1852.*

It will be noted that at this date those of eighteen were “ young men.”

My own experience during years of medically examining members of the working-class for a special purpose which required them to give a detailed history of any accident or injury they may have received, is that many of them are confused in their thinking and incapable of describing an orderly sequence of events. They exhibit a primitive method of thinking which strives to relate events to exclusively personal occurrences. They do not, for instance, seem to record the passing of time by the calendar, and if asked for the date of a past event such as when they met with a particular accident, the type of reply generally received is “ It was on the Tuesday.” Pressed to be more explicit, the response is likely to be “ the Tuesday after I came back from my holiday ” or “ the Tuesday before I went into hospital.” Similarly their knowledge of topography is limited to their own personal environment, and they will explain if they have any difficulty in finding their way to a place, “ I have never been in these parts before.”

¹ *Hansard*, August 4th, 1943.

Many of the working-class are unable to read a map, and prefer a slow, devious route by tram or bus where there is someone they can ask, to facing the complexity of a journey by train or tube. Some find difficulty even in reading and writing; they read each word separately as a child does when learning to read, and they write a laborious, copybook hand. On matters outside their personal experience their ignorance may be abysmal. Advertisers of goods for sale give pictures in the popular newspapers of the simplest articles, so as to save the effort of reading, a practice which is almost a reversion to pictographic writing.

In all classes there is an astonishing ignorance even of the elementary principles of reasoning. A striking illustration of this is given by the wide prevalence at the present time of the cult of astrology. Tom Harrison, the Director of Mass-Observation, states that some 40 per cent. of the adult population have some degree of belief in astrology, and this is highest among women and working-class people. Papers and leaflets which meet the demand for prediction of the future sell in hundreds of thousands; one of the astrological "almanacs" sells over three million copies annually. We see the same credulity in the readiness with which large numbers of people accept the flagrant mis-statements published by patent medicine vendors.

The lack of receptivity to instruction, and of capacity to reason, indicate the presence of fundamental faults in our present system of education. Modern teaching is too authoritative, and does not allow sufficient scope for learning by experience and experiment which is the natural method of acquiring knowledge. Dogmatic teaching implies the infallibility of the teacher, and by saving mental effort and repressing enquiry prevents the full development of the mind in the same way that lack of exercise is prejudicial to physical growth.

Let us look at the natural process of education. The human infant is born lacking all knowledge and completely uninfluenced by the acquirements of generations of forebears, but its capacity for spontaneous learning is gigantic. During the first few years of life knowledge flows into the child from all sides. In a brief period it learns a language and an immense number of facts about itself and its environment. It is quick to observe any change or new feature in its surroundings; its curiosity is insatiable—witness the eagerness of children to look out of the windows of trains and omnibuses—and it will, if allowed, ask questions

incessantly. The impulse to use the dawning mind is as evident as is the desire for constant, muscular activity in the healthy child, but the extreme educational importance of the first years is rarely appreciated by parents who are apt to regard a persistently enquiring child as a nuisance and discourage its attitude, possibly with disastrous results. Much of what is learned in early years remains throughout life. In advanced years we can recall the nursery-rhymes and fairy-tales of childhood when knowledge laboriously acquired at a later date has disappeared. The opportunity for easy learning afforded by the early years never recurs.

Since most parents have strong ideas, derived from their own teachings, as to what a child should know or not know and what it should think or not think, they begin at a very early age to direct the child's mind into the desired channels. If the child shows any of the forbidden knowledge or betrays a curiosity which is regarded as unseemly, it is promptly checked, and taught that certain actions and ideas are "naughty," long before it has the adult's conception of good and evil, "good" being simply what it may do, and "naughty" what it may not do. The earliest misleading of the child usually occurs in connection with birth, and unnecessary repressions associated with the sex organs, started at this age and continued in later years, initiate wrong ideas as to the relations between the sexes which may have very ill-effects in adult life. Repressions of anger and hatred are necessary, but the danger associated with the process would be much less if parents understood the psychological principles involved.

The first intellectual difficulty probably arises over the teaching of religion. "Why doesn't God kill the Devil?" asks an intelligent child echoing man Friday, and as neither divine nor philosopher has ever succeeded in answering this question any more than Crusoe could, the child gets an evasive reply. If it persists, it is apt to be rebuked and told it must believe what it is told, even though the statement may seem to it incredible. Yet this process is quite contrary to the questioning mind of the growing child and may be definitely harmful in checking mental growth; it is the mental equivalent of the ancient Chinese practice of crippling the feet in infancy or of distorting a child's head which is practised by some native races, and the type of mind it produces is as receptive to astrology, spiritualism or Christian Science as to

any orthodox religion. In the absence of the critical faculty these beliefs may also produce a soothing effect comparable to that produced by religious faith. Tom Harrison says, "Our detailed investigations show that the immediate effect is favourable to morale. Women who believe in astrology tend to be appreciably more cheerful, confident and calm than those who do not." Belief in spiritualism may provide solace for those in distress. The Secretary of the Marylebone Spiritualist Association, which contains some 4,000 members, states that spiritualism has spread widely during the war and that there are now more than a million spiritualists in Britain, explaining this in the words "When a person comes up against a bereavement what can the Church offer? Only hope. Whereas we spiritualists can offer communication with the lost ones on the other side."¹

Discouragement of enquiry on religious matters is continued during schooldays, discussion of religious subjects being usually prohibited in school debating societies. A similar attitude of opposition to any activity threatening to weaken faith is exhibited by public bodies. The attitude, for instance, of the B.B.C., an institution which exercises considerable educational influence in the community, is shown by the following letter, quoted by kind permission from the *Literary Guide* for July, 1943 :—

"DEAR SIR,—Thank you for your letter of May 7th in which you suggest that an Atheist should be invited to take part in 'The Anvil' discussions. A careful note has been made of your point of view, but at the same time, I must explain that the policy in this matter is that, as far as broadcasting hours allocated to religion are concerned, only those who hold the traditional beliefs of Christendom should be invited to broadcast. Consequently we are unable to put your suggestion into effect. Yours, etc., MARY P. USHER, for Director, Secretariat."

The Roman Catholic branch of Christianity further endeavours to restrict the spread of knowledge unwelcome to it by maintaining its *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.

Unwillingness to permit discussion of religious principles in the light of rationalism arises from the same motive as that which has secured the toleration for other faiths noted in a previous chapter. Ecclesiastical authorities are well aware that nowadays they cannot convince men of the truth of their statements by

¹ *News Chronicle*, December 17th, 1943.

appeal either to reason or experience, and accordingly must rely on faith. It is perhaps not fully realised that the difficulty the Church now finds itself in is of quite modern origin. Until a recent date the truth of Christianity was regarded as firmly established by the occurrence of miracles, which indeed have been its foundation from the beginning. When those around Christ saw him perform miracles, they said "Surely this man is the Son of God"; the short Gospel of Mark contains accounts of no less than forty miracles; the miracle of the Resurrection convinced the doubting Disciples; and miracles performed by the Apostles were constantly accepted as evidence of Divine power. In an age of ignorance it was entirely logical to accept the apparent setting aside of the laws of Nature as evidence of supernatural power, and Christianity kept its hold on men by its essential reasonableness. Miracles were firmly believed in during the Middle Ages, and not many years ago students entering the University of Cambridge were required to pass an examination in Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*, the strongest argument in that book being based on the truth of miracles. To this day the Roman Catholic Church gains large numbers of adherents by its endorsement of miraculous cures at Lourdes and other shrines, and by encouraging belief in the occurrence of other miracles and visions of holy figures. The Protestant Churches, by ignoring miracles or tending to give them a rationalistic explanation, are driven to increase their exhortations to faith, but it is difficult to see any ethical value in blind faith to-day. Its virtue pertains to the age when it was sincerely held that "This is the Catholic Faith; which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved." Most adults manage to effect a mental compromise between faith and reason; but the attempt to force the mind of the young child in two contrary directions simultaneously can lead to nothing but confusion, with the result that the child abandons the effort to think.

That concern for the propagation of certain ideals has been the paramount consideration in education, is also shown by the comparatively little attention which has been given to the physical welfare of the child until recent times. In a heavily industrialised country such as Britain, protection of the health of the child is of the first importance, yet it was not until 1907 that a school medical service of a very limited character was initiated, and even in its enlarged form to-day the service is still

incomplete and inadequate. Reports from school medical officers show that malnutrition and other disorders are common, and experience during the evacuation of children from the towns to the country revealed the fact that many of them were verminous and suffered from enuresis. These conditions are, of course, largely due to overcrowding in slum environments, but they none the less show how small has been the concern expressed for the physical welfare of children compared with that for their spiritual interests.

Early childhood is probably for many the most unhappy period of life, which is the reason why few people retain more than the dimmest memories of the first few years. Some of the pain of childhood is unavoidable, since it occurs in the forming of the conditioned reflexes and social habits which civilisation demands, yet much could be spared if parents understood better the psychology of children. It is as impossible to teach children moral ideas as it is to teach them religion, yet various prohibitions and restraints are necessary in their own interests. But to identify good with what they may do and evil with that they may not do, punishing them for the latter and creating in them a sense of guilt, induces in children a state of subservience which prevents them from striving to free themselves; as it did with the slave Uncle Tom in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, who refused to try to escape from slavery as he considered it would be an immoral thing to do. Many children grow up with a sense of guilt implanted in them during their early years which influences their conduct long after it has ceased to have any basis in reason or social necessity. Adults have still much to learn both about and from children, and in the next chapter an effort is made to outline a scheme which aims at assisting the development of children without the constant thwarting of nature and the heavy sacrifices demanded by modern educational methods.

CHAPTER XII

EDUCATION OF TO-MORROW— UNFETTERING YOUTH

“ Let Nature be your Teacher.”

Wordsworth.

EDUCATION falls into two parts : self-education, which begins at the moment of birth and is to some extent essential for all animals ; and, in the human species only, education which is imposed upon the individual by the community. In forms below man, in which activity is mainly instinctive, the first stage is short, consisting chiefly of learning the way about the immediate vicinity and acquiring a few simple conditioned reflexes. Man has a much larger number of reflexes to acquire, and his communal education may last for many years. In the more highly civilised countries the man or woman who is qualifying to enter a learned profession probably does not complete the communal education until well over the age of twenty, thus devoting a third of an average lifetime to preparation for the remainder.

The natural or automatic education of the earlier years is broadly the same for all mankind, the communal part necessarily varies with the ideals and objects of each community. Accordingly in considering any scheme of communal education the first step is to determine its fundamental purpose. In this country many educationalists would agree with the definition of the Headmaster of Winchester that “ the primary and governing aim of education is to bring men to know and love God and to do His will.” A wider statement makes the object of education development of character, which, having regard to the ideals at present governing education in England, probably means much the same thing. But “ character ” itself is of many varieties, and the investigations made in preceding chapters of this book show that character in education of to-day means a particular type of character which will primarily concern itself with upholding existing institutions. On the assumption that all is fundamentally well with this country, that the ideals of education are sound and that it is only the application of them that may be faulty, no criticism can be made of the Public School system, and we know

that every effort is being made to extend its principles to the national schools as far as that is possible. But if, as I have endeavoured to show, the ideals of modern education are contributing to maintain the appalling conditions in which the greater part of humanity, designated as "civilised," now finds itself, it is essential to look for a new bedrock principle in education, essential even for mere survival, since present ideals are rapidly leading the British people, as well as most of the nations of Western Europe, to extinction.

In previous chapters I have tried to show some of the evils resulting from the disharmony which prevails between the social conception of youth and physiological fact, and as the latter cannot be altered, the only prospect of terminating the disharmony is by changing the social attitude and adapting education to meet the changes. This would mean recognition of maturity when it occurs instead of ignoring it, and would make the fundamental purpose of education that of helping the young through the difficult process of change from childhood to adulthood, instead of, as at present, constantly striving to thwart the course of nature. Some will say that this is being done under the present system. It is not. The law has fixed twenty-one as the age before which it will not give the individual the full rights of a man or woman, and up to that age both law and custom restrict the freedom of youth in many important directions. Yet nature has given very definite indication as to when this change occurs. Physiologists call it the age of puberty and it covers roughly the period of fourteen (or earlier) to sixteen. This stage is of the greatest importance in life; yet one may read many volumes on education, welfare of the young, juvenile delinquency, etc., without coming across any reference to it. Even the word itself has acquired a somewhat shamefaced significance, and the sex urge of puberty becomes "emotional adolescent instability."

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CHANGE

The physical and physiological changes which mark the passage from childhood to adulthood are well known though they are socially ignored. But many persons, including parents and teachers, are unaware of the profound psychological changes which occur in children before and during the physical changes. I am not speaking here of the developing sex-impulses, but of the break from parental dependence to psychic independence which,

growing slowly from infancy, is accelerated about the age of nine or ten and should be complete a few years later, a momentous change which, if not satisfactorily effected, may have lifelong ill-effects, yet one which is often bitterly resented by both parent and child. To assist this psychological change should be the primary purpose of education if the interest of the child is to be the first consideration.

The child, born completely helpless and uninformed, necessarily as it grows places implicit confidence and belief in everything the parent says and does. But sooner or later it must leave its haven of safety ; it must learn to think for itself, to have confidence in itself and to exercise its own judgement. This breaking-away is always a difficult process and most parents discourage it, being therein supported by general social opinion. They require complete obedience from their children, they often do not give them reasons for actions which seem to the child harsh and unreasonable, and they reproach them if they show any independence of judgement, with such remarks as " If only you would listen to me " and " Why didn't you ask me before you did that ? " The child on his part may be equally reluctant to accept any responsibility its parent will bear for it. Many persons never fully accomplish the psychic breakaway and in consequence throughout their lives lack self-confidence and seek to lean on others. In extreme cases the struggle between parental repressions and the striving to be free may result in neurotic illness or graver mental disorder. The change may be regarded as a kind of mental weaning, and it is one which all parents and educationalists should be aware of and be prepared to facilitate.

The essential step is to give the growing child a steadily increasing degree of freedom, with opportunities for exercising judgement even though it makes mistakes, and a steadily increasing degree of responsibility. At present a child leaving home for school, whether day- or boarding-school, instead of getting an increase of freedom, comes in many directions under a greater degree of restraint and discipline than it has ever experienced before. Now it must adapt itself to fixed hours, dogmatic instruction, compulsory games in some schools and conformity to all school customs and attire for years. If a boy is at a Public School he may, up to the age of eighteen or nineteen, have no greater responsibility than that of choosing a cricket team, and if he goes to a University or hospital he is under some degree of control

for several more years. A poor boy probably goes into a factory or works under a master as soon as he leaves school, and it may be years before he has an opportunity of exercising initiative or independence.

Compulsion in education destroys both initiative and interest.¹ Many educationalists have commented upon the apathy of young adults to-day. The Conservative Sub-Committee previously quoted, say that voluntary organisations for boys and girls of the school leaving age "are finding it increasingly difficult to stimulate interest in any form of activity, and that their members want to do nothing but hang about idly for 'something to turn up.'"

COLONIES FOR CHILDREN

If encouragement of initiative and self-confidence were regarded as the chief purpose of education, it would be essential to separate children from their parents at a comparatively early age, though this, of course, need not entail breaking ties of affection any more than does the practice of sending them to boarding-schools. With advancing knowledge of psychology of children, and greater realisation of the extent to which parents may mentally cripple their offspring, it is probable that future years will see decrease in parental control and a growing practice of removing children from parental influence at earlier and earlier ages. A later generation of parents may willingly acquiesce in their children coming under the care of the State as early as the age of three or four; Plato wished to do this at the age of three, and until that age he would have the child guarded against every experience of distress, alarms, and, as far as possible, pain (*Laws*). It must be remembered that scientific knowledge of child psychology is of quite recent date and that national education itself is still, from the social point of view, in an early stage. We have no reason to suppose that the national education of the future will not be on radically different lines from those now followed. The movement for early separation of children from their parents will

¹ Compulsory attendance at hospital lectures sometimes means sheer waste of time for students. Lecturers are appointed on their professional status with but little regard for their capacity to teach. It was my misfortune as a student to have to attend the lectures of one of the most distinguished surgeons of the day, and for all the good they were to me or to others they might just as well have been given in Chinese. If the General Medical Council ceased to make attendance compulsory, lecturers would quickly find their real level, for students will readily attend lectures which they find helpful.

probably be encouraged by the general concern which is likely to be aroused at no distant date by a falling population, for such a practice would obviously reduce the burden on a mother of rearing a large family.

The achievement of the various educational aims set out in the preceding pages, particularly provision of opportunity for self-development and initiative, would demand organisation on a large scale. Children's Colonies, as they might be called, capable of accommodating perhaps as many as five thousand children would be needed. These should be located in rural areas where there are opportunities for studying and taking part in all kinds of farming, agriculture, rearing of livestock, etc., and they should be equipped with workshops for all sorts of handicrafts, and with laboratories and studios. They would endeavour to meet the needs of the early stages of every kind of mental activity much as the Universities provide for the intellectual requirements of all types of adults. Children would come to the colonies not later than the age of nine, probably earlier as time progressed, and would leave about sixteen or seventeen.

The keynote should be the giving of the maximum degree of liberty to the colonists. They should be allowed complete freedom to choose what they will do, or even to do nothing, which would teach them the boredom of such a course. With the opportunities which would be available, the boy or girl who could not find some pursuit of interest would almost certainly be in a pathological condition and in need of special treatment. Colonists would be allowed to change their occupations freely and permitted to use tools and apparatus themselves even though this involved a serious amount of breakage. Teachers would be about the workshops, but boys would be encouraged to instruct themselves as much as possible by their own observations, experiments and investigations, teachers making suggestions where these seemed opportune and helping when appealed to. Work on fields and farms would be available. Colonists would keep their own cubicles clean or take their turn in tidying a dormitory, and each would do a share of the housework and work in the kitchens. Classes in cooking, sewing and first-aid would be available to all, and older girls would have opportunities for study of maternity and infant care. Repairs and additions to the buildings of the colony would be carried out as far as possible by the boys themselves.

Particular attention would be given to opportunity for the direct study of nature in the fields, woods, rivers and seashores. Lack of such study is one of the most serious defects throughout British education. Many persons in all classes are astonishingly ignorant of and uninterested in their surroundings ; they cannot recognise the common forest trees and shrubs and wild flowers ; have the haziest ideas of the movements and causes of the tides, and know nothing of the night sky ; the reading of a compass may be beyond them, and some cannot indicate the points of the compass in their own locality.¹ Ornithology is a subject of great practical interest in agricultural Britain, yet many persons cannot recognise the songs of familiar birds or identify more than the commonest species. When, in 1943, the B.B.C. broadcast an appeal for the destruction of sparrows owing to their depredations on crops, boys throughout the country set to work to destroy all small birds and their nests and eggs under the belief that they were sparrows.² It is probable that the modern cult of games has taken away much of the time which earlier generations of boys would have spent on country walks and pursuits.

Another direction in which education has been gravely inadequate is agriculture, a subject of the highest importance to this country. The Committee on Post-War Agricultural Education point out in their Report (1943) that the amount spent on agricultural education in England and Wales in 1938-39 was the "insignificant" sum of £620,000, out of a total normal annual expenditure of approximately £100,000,000, a contribution which, they say, "appears to support a charge of apathy and neglect."

The *Report of the Headmasters' Conference* (1943) says : "The liberty and diversity which have always been the main strength of English education cannot long be maintained in

¹ Once, asking a lady whether a certain shop was on the east or west side of St. James's Street, I received the astonishing reply, "It is on the west as you go from Piccadilly and on the east the other way."

² Eventually the B.B.C. were obliged to withdraw their appeal, but great damage had been done to bird-life in the meantime. There seems to be no reason, except that it requires a little more observation, why a child should not learn to distinguish a chaffinch from a sparrow as readily as it does a cat from a rabbit, and field instruction on bird-life would probably be a far more effective way of preserving birds than legal prohibitions. Even in great cities the bird-life is much more extensive and varied than is generally realised. It has been possible for instance to identify fifty-three species of birds in a single afternoon in Richmond Park, and over thirty can soon be identified in the central parks ; while the water-fowl in St. James's Park can be a source of interest throughout the year, despite the limited access to the lakeside allowed by the authorities.

schools which are financially controlled by the State." They give no reasons for this astonishing statement, and many would not agree with them that either liberty or diversity is a characteristic of Public School education. One may look over a school magazine to-day with its "Characters of the Team," and its "Old Boys' Letter," and find it scarcely distinguishable from that of half a century ago ; while discipline and conformity to school usages is actually claimed to be one of the advantages of Public School education. In the Colonies freedom and diversity of occupation would be outstanding features.

Discipline in the Children's Colonies would be reduced to the minimum, and would be directed towards those requirements, non-observance of which would be to the detriment of all, such as absence from fire-drill or failure to do the share in the house-work. Personal discipline, such as maintenance of cleanliness, would be acquired more by example and influence of others than by precept, and discipline would be maintained chiefly by the elder boys and girls who would thus become accustomed to exercising authority and would acquire a sense of responsibility. Punishment should as far as possible follow automatically any error of conduct, as it is apt to do with adults ; a boy who was late for dinner would lose his dinner, and a boy whose nails were dirty would be sent off to clean them by an older boy before doing his share of work in the kitchen.

Games should be encouraged for the enjoyment of the game and the benefit of the physical exercise. For administrative reasons the Colonies would have to be divided into smaller houses which might well have their individual characteristics and specialities, but the competitive spirit between them would be avoided. Games might conveniently be arranged between the houses, but these would not be allowed to involve special training and the teams would not get "colours." School uniform or school tie would not be worn, but there would be a tailor's shop in which boys would be helped or taught to make or repair their own clothes.

There would be no religious teaching or services in the Colony, but, consistent with the general atmosphere of freedom, children would be allowed to go to places of worship in the neighbourhood if they wished, though not merely because their parents wished it. Nor would there be any State pageantry, such as saluting the flag on "Empire Day" as is done in the national schools at present ;

but colonists would be able to organise pageantry for themselves, and dramatic performances both in the open air and the Colony theatre would be encouraged. Moral training of the colonists would be derived from the same sources as it is elsewhere and always will be, from the personal behaviour of teachers and others associated with the colonists. A simple friendly talk with a teacher, or an act of unselfishness or chivalry or self-restraint on the part of a teacher or a fellow-colonist, performed unostentatiously in the classroom or the playground, has far greater effect on the young than any amount of teaching by precept or religion. Straightforward instruction on the facts of sex life would be given to both sexes, and girls and boys would be associated as far as possible in the activities of the Colony.

Finally, there is the advantage to physical health. Towns as built at present with their impure atmosphere and inadequate open spaces are seriously prejudicial to the rearing of healthy children, while the unavoidable lack of freedom is conducive to that resentment of authority which is at the basis of much juvenile delinquency. In the Colonies the children would be under much more hygienic conditions.

The Colonies would be situated in various parts of the country, some in purely agricultural districts, others within reach of mining or industrial areas ; some would be on the coasts, others in the mountainous regions of Scotland and Wales. Interchange of the colonists would be organised, and thus all would gain experience of different types of natural environment and human industry. The educational advantages of this system are obvious and would conduce to a sounder unity of the people than can be effected by verbal instruction. If the scheme developed on international lines, as might be hoped for, interchange with other countries and the British Dominions might eventually become possible.

In putting forward these suggestions I am not unaware that some of them are already in operation in certain schools of the country. Nor do I claim that the principles underlying them have not been heard before. More than eighty years ago a great philosopher expressed the essence of this chapter in the words :—

“Leave your child wherever you can to the discipline of experience, and you will save him from that hot-house virtue which over-regulation produces in yielding natures, or that

demoralising antagonism which it produces in independent ones."—*Education*. Herbert Spencer, 1861.

HIGHER STUDIES

The earlier years would gradually reveal the more intellectually disposed students, and for them opportunities for more advanced study and preparation for entry into professions should be available. Science in particular should be taught, emphasis being placed upon its principles in view of their high moral value, rather than upon details of facts. Pursuit of truth is the very foundation of science, and a scientific training is in itself a discipline and a source of self-confidence, for the worker in science must be always on his guard not to reject conclusions because they are unwelcome or to accept others because they are attractive; and he must be prepared if necessary to scrap years of patient research if an error is found in his work. The teacher of science is never placed in the position of having to claim certainty in a world of conflicting views, nor of having to make dogmatic statements, the truth of which he doubts himself; he loses no prestige by being able to say "I do not know." Scientific training would reduce the widespread credulity of the uneducated, and the inclusion of lectures on ethnology and anthropology would lead to sounder general views on nationalism. If children knew as much about cavemen as they do about Adam and Eve they would have a better conception of the common origin of mankind; and the story would not be less interesting.

After science, Latin is probably the most useful foundation subject that can be taught. Supporters of classical education do not put forward their strongest claim when they urge that Latin and Greek should be taught in order that the writings of the ancients may be read in their mother-tongue, for comparatively few attain such proficiency as to be able to do this fluently, and for others translations are available. They overlook the fact that Latin and Greek are both subjects a little knowledge of which is better than none at all. Latin, in particular, is so closely associated not only with British history but with all European history that its influence is prominent in many spheres of learning. Knowledge of the vocabulary alone is helpful in law, history, medicine, science, languages and literature, and, in view of the frequency with which we encounter quotations, inscriptions, literary abbreviations, etc., from Latin, it is far from correct

to describe it as a "dead language." Unfortunately the historic prestige which attaches to a classical education has led to a knowledge of Latin becoming almost a class distinction, with the result that it is looked upon with suspicion by the working-class and its practical value is not recognised. Another effect of the classical prestige is that a classical scholar is regarded as a well-educated man though he may be completely ignorant of all branches of science, and often he has no hesitation in admitting this. Recently a well-known writer broadcasting about his experiences in Russia, said: "The temperature was two degrees; that was on their scale, I do not know what it would be on ours." A man of erudition, but not in science, may show his ignorance of the difference in meaning of the words "dehydrated" and "dried"; but a Labour Minister is promptly castigated for his faulty etymology when he coins the word "triphibious." The difference in the general attitude of the cultured classes towards classics and science is illustrated by the fact that high-class literary journals do not think it necessary to translate Latin quotations, as they assume their readers will be able to do this for themselves, but when they have to mention scientific terms they are apt to describe them as "jargon."

The criticism may be made that the curriculum outlined in the preceding pages is too severely practical; that it does not provide any stimulus to the imagination, and, in the absence of religious teaching, makes no provision for spiritual growth. But it is very doubtful whether deliberate attempts to stimulate imagination are ever helpful to a child; and some such efforts are definitely harmful. Children must necessarily learn to fear real dangers, but imaginary terrors impose a quite useless strain upon the mind, and some methods of stimulating the imagination of children have this effect. Many of the fairy-tales told to children have a strong element of horror in them. English nursery rhymes are mostly innocuous, but I still have a vivid recollection of Harriet in flames and the boy who had his thumbs cut off in the German *Struwwelpeter*. Nor is it possible to eliminate the element of fear from religious teaching, and, indeed, to do so would deprive such teaching of all meaning. The best way to assist the growth of imagination in children is to give them wide knowledge and varied experience, leaving the imaginative application of that knowledge to natural development. The great poets and writers of romantic literature have

all been men of learning even though only self-taught ; imagination without knowledge would yield little fruit.

THE POSITION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Some reference to the Public Schools is necessary. The class character of these institutions is now generally admitted, and at the time of writing there are two schools of thought as to their position in the State. The attitude generally of those who may be said to represent the governing class is in favour of providing a certain number of free or assisted places in the schools which would enable selected boys of poor parents to enter them. This view is shared by some of the working class. Mr. George Muff, M.P., one of a group of Labour Members of Parliament—all miners and textile workers—who visited some half a dozen of the leading Public Schools, expressed a high opinion of what they saw. They found “an utter absence of snobbery in the schools” and “were treated with deference” (it is astonishing that they should have expected anything else) ; they found that the boys had “independence and poise,” and they were impressed with the spiritual background of the education. “These Public Schools breed character,” says Mr. Muff. “Who can forget Charterhouse Chapel and morning prayers ? The unassuming part the boys took themselves in the inspiring worship at Winchester College ? The friendliness of Harrow ? . . . The glorious equality of ‘Duckers’ and ‘Gunners.’ . . . We want more boys to share in the heritage of our Public Schools.”¹

The other view is expressed by the reply of the London County Council when asked to co-operate with the Fleming Committee in considering extension of the association between the Public Schools and the general education system. They said :

“The Council considers that the independent public boarding schools are in the widest sense educationally undesirable while present principles guiding their management and recruitment continue. . . . The Public Schools segregate in general the sons of the wealthy and successful from the sons of the less fortunate during their most impressionable years with several socially unfortunate results. In these conditions, therefore, the Council does not wish to be associated with any scheme of collaboration with them.”

¹ *The Times*, July 8th, 1943.

In this criticism the London County Council has perhaps attached too much importance to the influence of the Public Schools *per se*. In so far as they are differentiated from other schools they are adjuncts to the prevailing class and religious social organisations, and what they do is to prepare boys for the opportunities which they know will be open to them later. Despite the talk about "character formation" in the Public Schools, their social advantage really results from their prestige, which varies within wide limits, from the glory of Eton to that of the school only just recognised as coming within the coveted circle. Without the later opportunities of benefiting from their prestige the special and distinguishing features of the Public School training would be purposeless. If the Church were disestablished, thereby depriving the Bishops of much of their temporal glory, and conferment of hereditary titles ceased, with cessation of official recognition of existing inherited titles and abolition of inherited legislative privilege, the social influence and advantages of the Public Schools would rapidly diminish. Moreover the Colony system, by giving to all the opportunity of developing their best natural abilities and offering facilities for higher studies to the most able, would eventually provide educational advantages probably exceeding those of the Public Schools.

The educational scheme outlined above is directed primarily towards the interests of the individual, and only indirectly affects those of the community. But if we are to be concerned with the interests of the community regarded as a continuing entity, the question of the falling birth-rate at once arises, and it is now necessary to show that further changes in the attitude of the State towards marriage will be necessary if full advantage is to be taken of a changed attitude of society in the matter of the sexual relations of the young.

CHAPTER XIII

CONFLICT WITH NATURE : THE BATTLE OF THE BIRTH-RATE

And God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him ; male and female created he them.

And God blessed them : and God said to them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.

Genesis.

MAN finds himself in conflict with the processes of Nature in many directions. Some of his defiant practices are to his individual and collective advantage, as in preventing disease or curing its effects ; others, for instance, painting the face or mutilating the genitals, affect only the individual ; and some, such as alcoholism, are harmful to both individual and community. In the artificial restriction of births we have a conflict which is definitely prejudicial to the survival of the community but may be beneficial to the individual, a fact which makes attempts at raising the birth-rate exceedingly difficult.

The effects of birth-restriction on a population are cumulative. A fall in the number of births in any given year exercises, in addition to its immediate result, an effect some fifteen or sixteen years later in the decrease in the number of potential mothers, and when this process is continued year after year, the ultimate effect is very great. It is unnecessary here to go into the figures in detail, but statisticians are all agreed that the prolonged and heavy fall in the British birth-rate has now produced a situation which, in the absence of very drastic changes, must in a comparatively short time lead to a decline in the population at an increasingly rapid rate. Britain in this respect is in a more precarious position than any other country.

The claim has, of course, been made that man has an instinct to reproduce his kind. Mr. R. F. Harrod, for instance, writing recently on the subject, says :—

“ Both in the period of recorded history and in the much longer period on which comparative anthropology throws light, there have been vast changes in religious beliefs and moral standards. These in turn have caused great changes of social habits and institutions. But man’s instinctive urge to

reproduce his kind has hitherto proved strong enough to stand up to all these changes.”¹

But there is no vestige of an instinctive urge in man to reproduce his kind. There is only an urge to copulate, and while gratifying that urge men use their intelligence to prevent a remote, uncertain and undesired consequence of their act. If man really possessed a reproductive instinct we should never have had the fall in the birth-rate, which is clearly a result of recent social development originating in a comparatively small class of the community. It will be noted that in the above statement Mr. Harrod appeals to the pre-recorded beliefs and moral standards of man, but, in fact, we know nothing of these beliefs and standards before the period of written history ; and, as we saw earlier, there is no evidence that early man had any kind of religion in the modern sense of the term.

In the absence of a reproductive instinct, the birth-rate can be raised only by deliberate and intelligently directed efforts of the community. If these fail the population must steadily dwindle or be recruited from foreign sources, for it is unlikely that this naturally rich and fertile country will ever be allowed to become sparsely populated. The most probable course of events is that efforts will be made to reduce the financial burden of rearing a family by various forms of monetary grants, but, for reasons to be stated in a moment, these will be found not to be effective. As the position becomes alarming, restrictions on immigration will be removed one by one, and finally, aliens will be welcomed to the country and rapidly given the privileges of British citizenship. Thus the population will be maintained, though probably it will not be so large as at present, but it will have been derived not from those living in the country now, but from many European sources, and will be of as mixed an origin as that of southern France or the United States of America to-day. The fall in the birth-rate in Australia, New Zealand and Canada seems to foreshadow a similar course of events in those countries. Many persons view with regret equally the prospect of the present community falling to a small number and of its being recruited from foreign sources. Before we consider the steps which might be taken to raise it, the important question presents itself as to whether there is any obligation on or inducement to a com-

¹ *Britain's Future Population*, 1943.

munity to concern itself with its survival when threatened with extinction by a falling birth-rate.

Has a community any obligations to posterity, and if so, to what period of time ahead? Assuming that reasonably comfortable conditions can be established for the existing generation and its immediate offspring, should it be a matter of concern to the present inhabitants of a country whether the country in a hundred years time is inhabited by their descendants or by a population derived mainly from foreign sources? Some, agreeing with Solomon that "childlessness with virtue is better than an unrighteous generation," may take the view that if restoration of the birth-rate demands sweeping changes in the family system, in ideals of education, and in marriage and divorce laws, it would be better for the community to accept its fate and disappear rather than secure its survival by measures which they would regard as immoral. There is nothing in social history which provides a sanction for the perpetuation of an isolated group of beings. We, in this country, can imagine an ancient Roman sitting on the Kentish shore deploring the departure of the legions from Britain, but do we, the present occupants of the island whose own ancestors were mostly foreign invaders, regret that there is probably little Roman blood in us? Our forefathers resisted Norman William, but we of to-day are assured that we are ever so much better for that accession of fresh blood, and from many later infusions from the Continent. If on the principle of evolution we may believe that any successors who displace us must necessarily be better, or at least "fitter," is it not merely a personal projection which makes us concerned for the survival of our specific community? And if we are concerned with what happens in a hundred years, does it matter what happens in five hundred, or five thousand? As, however, it is certain that efforts will be made to raise the birth-rate, the existence of such an obligation will be assumed, and accordingly it becomes necessary to examine the causes of the fall and the steps which appear essential to raise it, in the light of the social difficulties and conflicts described in the previous pages.

THE CAUSES OF THE FALL IN THE BIRTH-RATE

The assumption is widely made that the main reason for restricting births is economic pressure, yet the unsoundness of this view is readily apparent from the fact that the practice of

contraception began in the professional and wealthy classes and is still most prevalent in those classes, while the highest birth-rates are found in the poorest classes. Acting on the belief that poverty is the operating factor, various countries, including France, Germany, Italy and Sweden, have endeavoured, by means of marriage loans, family allowances, concessions in taxation to large families, and reduction of school fees, to lessen the financial burden of rearing children. But there is no evidence that these measures have anywhere had any material effect in raising the birth-rate ; the most that can be said for them is that in some instances they may have retarded its fall. It is true that during the Hitler régime, up to the outbreak of war, there was a big rise in the German birth-rate, but German authorities themselves were of opinion that this was due more to emotional appeals to the young than to any material steps. The teaching that it was the duty of every German woman to bear a child for the Führer and the fatherland, whether she was married or not, probably led to a substantial decrease in the number of abortions which had been very numerous in Germany.

The causes of birth-restriction lie far deeper than in economic insufficiency, a fact which a few writers are now beginning to recognise. Thus Mr. Harrod, in the work previously quoted, says, " Reproduction did not fall in England because of poverty, unemployment, insecurity or fear of war." He points out that the fall began at a time when the masses of people had achieved a standard of living higher than at any time, and he continues, " What then is the true diagnosis? It must be admitted and indeed emphasised that our ignorance is fairly complete."

But it is impossible to agree with Mr. Harrod that we do not know the causes of the declining birth-rate. Some of them are very obvious, and they may be conveniently grouped under the following heads :—

(1) A scale of social values which considers that greater happiness is to be derived from intellectual occupations, travel, sport and other amusements than from rearing a family, a scale which has been determined by the wealthier classes. With the growth of knowledge and culture, the demand for opportunities for self-development, travel, and devotion to the arts and literature has become much greater. These pursuits demand time as well as money, indeed the former is more important than the latter, but they are denied to the mother who is constantly engaged

in producing and rearing a large family. Devotion to these pursuits instead of having a family is sometimes described as "selfish," but this is a harsh judgment when applied to the artisan and professional classes who must perforce devote much more of their time than the wealthy to acquiring the necessities of life. We hear also a condemnation of the "pursuit of pleasure," but again it must be remembered that under the lead of the governing class, the young, at Public Schools and later, are deliberately taught to devote a large proportion of their time to games or forms of sport, and the wealthy classes make constant parade of their social amusements. The poor parents on the other hand, who are so roundly condemned by Sir Travers Humphreys for making pleasure their god, have little opportunity for winter sports, week-ends in the country and autumn shooting.

It is extremely unlikely—whether it be desirable or not—that this scale of values will be altered, and if the birth-rate is to be raised it will be done only under a system which enables mothers to have more children and yet not sacrifice social and intellectual pursuits. Herein lies one of the advantages in the Children's Colonies suggested in the preceding chapter. If mothers were relieved of the care, responsibility and cost of their children from the age of nine (or earlier) to sixteen or seventeen, the burden of rearing a family would clearly be very much reduced.

(2) The second important factor tending to lower the birth-rate is the present type of education and social attitude generally towards the young which, as we have seen, ignores their attainment of maturity, strives to keep them in ignorance of the facts of sex-life as long as possible, and fails to give them confidence to face the realities of life and accept the responsibility of early marriage and parenthood. In this direction also the influence of the Children's Colonies will have been of value in increasing self-confidence and in giving adequate instruction in the facts of sex-life.

(3) Marriage laws in Britain are now seriously out of harmony with the present state of social culture. They have been built up on early efforts of the husband to secure his wife from appropriation by other men, primitive superstitions relating to the danger of marriage, religious prohibitions which are considered to be in the interests of morality, and concern for the inheritance of property. They have no biological validity, are increasingly ceasing to be observed, and undoubtedly constitute one of the

factors making for decline in the birth-rate. We have already noticed some of the deterrent effects of these laws on the young in the fixing of the age of marriage at sixteen, and the age of twenty-one as that before which marriage is prohibited without parental consent. We must now take a general survey of the marriage laws as they affect the whole community.

Marriage law in England regards sexual gratification as the object of the union. It is unconcerned with the production of children or with the interests of children when born. This is clear from the grounds on which a decree of nullity of marriage may be granted. A marriage may be annulled if either husband or wife is unable to perform the appropriate part in the sexual act, but it may not be terminated because one or other of the parties proves to be sterile, even if the cause of the sterility was present before marriage. Further, if the intimacies between the parties have resulted in the wife becoming a mother, the marriage may still be annulled if, after a certain interval, it has not been consummated as defined by the law, although the annulment *legally and unavoidably bastardises the child*. The following remarkable case illustrates this effect of the law :—

“ In *Clarke v. Clarke*, heard in the High Court, in November, 1942, the parties were married in 1926. According to the husband's evidence, which the judge accepted, the wife displayed repugnance towards normal matrimonial relations, and there was never any consummation of the marriage. In 1930 nevertheless the wife gave birth to a son of whom the husband was unquestionably the father. The husband did not learn until 1941, while interviewing his solicitor about a proposed deed of separation, that if he could establish in court his assertion of non-consummation, he would be entitled to a decree of nullity of marriage. After medical evidence had been given, the court found in favour of the husband and the decree was granted.” *Abbreviated from the Lancet*, 16th January, 1943.

The Church of England takes a view of marriage more in accord with biological principles than the law, for it puts the procreation of children as the first object for which marriage was ordained, avoidance of the sin of fornication coming second for “ such as have not the gift of continence.”

In law, marriage is a contract, but it differs from other contracts in several respects. It cannot, as other contracts, be dissolved by

mutual consent of the parties. If one party breaks the contract the other may sue for redress ; but if both parties break the contract they must remain legally tied unless a judge exercises his discretion in giving relief from the transgression to the party suing.

Perhaps the most important difference between a marriage and other forms of contract is that it may result in the appearance of a third person who was not party to the contract. The newcomer has various civil rights which must be protected, but an infant born out of wedlock has now almost the same rights as a legitimate infant and sustains very little social or legal disability from its position. The situation of the mother may be very different ; she may suffer far more distress from social condemnation than anything her child is likely to experience.

This brings us to a deplorable feature of social life the extent of which is not generally known. If prevention of conception is an interference with nature, deliberate destruction of the fruits of a union is far more so, yet in present social circumstances a large number of persons are impelled to this course. A few women are strong enough to defy social opinion and do not conceal the fact that they have illegitimate offspring ; others are in positions where it causes them no inconvenience. But many more unhappy women find themselves in the position of having to choose between criminal abortion, social disgrace or a marriage which they would not otherwise have desired ; and to some the third course may not be open. We have already seen figures which suggest that a large proportion of the women who marry below the age of twenty are in this position. Some are led to suicide. Those who adopt abortion do so at the risk of serious injury to health and often at high financial cost under demoralising conditions. The practice of procuring abortion is much more frequent than is generally realised, since in only a small proportion of cases do the results follow which lead to cases coming to light. There are, of course, no exact figures showing the extent of the practice, but D. V. Glass, after an exhaustive examination of the evidence available, considers it probable that about 100,000 criminal abortions are induced annually in England and Wales.¹ In other European countries the estimated numbers are much higher. As the annual number of illegitimate births in England and Wales is about 27,000 there seems no

¹ *Population, Policies and Movements*, 1940.

improbability in the estimate of the number of criminal abortions nor in the assumption that the great bulk of them were carried out on unmarried women.

It is clear that if the causes which induce women to resort to abortion could be removed or lessened, not only would there be an addition to the population but a vast load of human misery would be avoided. But the stigma attaching to illegitimacy cannot be removed by legislation, since it expresses a social attitude : the law, as far as children are concerned, has already done all that is possible to remove any legal disability. Whatever extensions may be given to the definition of legitimacy, it will never be possible to abolish the real difference which exists between the child whose paternity is admitted and the child whose paternity is unknown or uncertain. What can be done, however, is to recognise unions between the sexes and offspring resulting therefrom, which do not involve the irrevocable conditions of matrimony.

At present the State permits only one form of contract for sexual union. Whatever the differences in age, social status, education, financial position and other conditions of the parties, there is but one choice—that between holy wedlock and living in sin. The law allows the contract to be terminated only under very special circumstances, or on the commission of certain acts to which neither party may wish to resort. Any contract which purports to be one for union of the sexes other than marriage is unenforceable at law. A man, for instance, cannot make a binding contract with a woman that he will pay her an annual income in consideration with her living with him, nor agree to settle a sum of money on her if she bears him a child, all such contracts being void on the grounds of immorality. Nor can a man make a binding promise to marry a woman after the death of his wife, nor even after a divorce until the decree has been made absolute. The irrevocable character of the present marriage contract deters many from entering into it who would willingly form unions providing for a degree of freedom in the event of the union proving unsatisfactory. If it were possible to make contracts which could be terminated by mutual consent, or could be for a limited period, and would secure financial compensation if one party broke the contract, with safeguards for the interests of any children, opportunities for natural relations between the sexes would be increased ; a large number of persons

now living double lives would no longer have to conceal their position from the world and daily resort to subterfuge and falsehood, and those who wished to have children would be able to do so without incurring social obloquy.

To be in accord with the principle of giving the maximum amount of liberty to responsible persons, which is believed to prevail in this country, there seems no reason why a man and woman should not be permitted to make any contract they like for sexual union ; and, until a child is born, who is not a party to the contract, the State has no grounds for concerning itself with the contract, except to enforce it, if it is reasonable, in the event of one party breaking it. Contracts could be made providing that the union should be reconsidered at the end of three or five years, let us say, thus constituting the " trial marriages " which were first advocated many years ago and do in fact represent the position of many though under a veil of social hypocrisy. Where a couple earnestly desired offspring from their union, they could agree that either party could terminate the relationship after a stated period of time if no child had been born ; and under a contract financial provision for the woman and any children could be made. Illegitimacy would come to mean that the child was the offspring of a woman with whom no contract had been made, and was presumably the result of a very casual union. Recognition of such contracts need not interfere in any way with the existing law of marriage for those who prefer this way of binding themselves. All that would be necessary would be a short Act providing that contracts for cohabitation should no longer be void on the ground that they are immoral. The reason why such contracts are not allowed is that they are against the interests of certain derived emotions which some groups in the community strive to impose on their fellows in furtherance of their religious beliefs or conceptions of morality. As with all other derived emotions, opposition to their views is never countered by arguments based on reason but by contumely and misrepresentation.

Establishment of relations between the sexes more in conformity with the dictates of nature would have an effect not only in reducing the frequency of abortion and raising the birth-rate, but in lessening other social evils, such as unhappy marriages, suicide, prostitution, venereal disease and some forms of mental disorder. The proposals in this chapter will be opposed on the grounds of

morality, but a moral code will never be effective which disregards biological truth ; the code must fit man, and man must cease to be tortured to fit the code. At present one of the most important functions in life, one which should be a source of great human happiness, is besmirched and degraded by being made subservient to a code originating in fear, ignorance and superstition. Society is paying a heavy price in its efforts to defy nature, and the future will assuredly show that it is fighting a losing battle.

CHAPTER XIV

GOVERNMENT BY REASON

“ As Reason is a Rebel unto Faith, so Passion unto Reason : As the Propositions of Faith seem absurd unto Reason, so the Theorems of Reason unto Passion, and both unto Reason ; yet a moderate and peaceable discretion may so state and order the matter, that they may all be Kings and yet make but one Monarchy, every one exercising his Sovereignty and Prerogative in a due time and place, according to the restraint and limit of circumstances.”

Religio Medici.

WE are accustomed to classify social cultures on an ascending scale, beginning with the “ primitive ” or “ barbaric ” and ending with the “ highest civilisation.” Yet if we look at the psychological motives which underlie the activities of men of different cultures, we realise that they are and always have been the same everywhere, and that it is only in their methods of expressing or satisfying themselves that these motives differ. Civilised man employs high explosives to kill his enemies where his ancestor used flint implements, and the native of to-day hurls his spear if he cannot get the white man’s weapons. Identical cravings father all religions : man, afraid of life and afraid to die, creates his gods, and in his ignorance endowing them with his own petty-mindedness, propitiates them with ceremonies and sacrifices such as he would like to receive himself. The emotional impulse is the same whether it leads to prostration before an Idol in a jungle or prayer before a Relic or an Altar in a Christian cathedral. The class conflict has existed since Jesus the son of Sirach wrote, two hundred years before Christ, “ Strive not with a rich man, lest haply he overweigh thee.” To-day, cunning and forceful men are everywhere struggling or have struggled to dominate their fellow-men, and when they have succeeded have built themselves and their descendants into privileged positions of wealth and power. King Solomon who “ exceeded all the Kings of the earth for riches ” and the ennobled multi-millionaire of to-day are products of the same mentality. The many tolerate and even assist in maintaining the dominating interest because everywhere they are uninstructed or deliberately wrongly instructed.

It would be easy to read into this constancy of motive in men

evidence of an unalterable "human nature," but it would be a mistake to relate it to principles of conduct governing their relations to each other, since it is not over their innate similarities but over their acquired differences that men fight, differences which are the product of their environment particularly the environment of early years ; men's hands differ little at birth, but those of one become those of a pickpocket, of another those of a priest. The conception of human nature as something fundamentally unalterable is no more helpful in the practical affairs of communities than is "instinct" or "spiritual force."

The belief that human nature does not change is necessarily based on history, yet the appeal to history is itself unsound as a guide to the future. Those who use this appeal have failed to realise how little we really know of man's past. They speak of "all history" as establishing some proposition, and almost invariably mean by "all" the history of not more than the last few thousand years or even a shorter period. They forget that man in his modern form so far as we can judge from his skeletons, has been on the globe for at least half-a-million years, and that during or before that period varieties of men profoundly different from any living to-day have come and gone. We do not know to what extent these varieties were contemporaneous, or whether those which have disappeared were exterminated by *homo sapiens* ; we know nothing of their speech, and we can only guess at the beginnings of their culture and the early social life of the groups of which they were probably formed. We find no evidence that they had a religion, and we know that not until quite late in their history did they learn the use of metals. It is generally agreed that agriculture began only about fifteen thousand years ago, and until then nothing like the modern community could be established. Written or pictographic records appeared about three thousand years before the Christian era, but they are scanty, inaccurate and often undecipherable, and at the most relate only to a small fraction of mankind. With this picture of man's history in mind, we see that the whole period of civilisation cannot be looked upon as more than a beginning. Man, having regard to his total life on the globe, is only just emerging from barbarism ; and civilisation is still in the learning and experimental stage. The appeal to what is termed "history" is worthless in the major affairs of men. It is comparable to an attempt to determine the nature of a man with a view to estimating his future when no

more is known of him than the events of the past few days in his life, and these but incompletely and inaccurately. Man's limited knowledge of his history can give him no positive guidance for the future, but, interpreted by reason, it may help him to avoid repetition of his errors.

The appeal to history is based on the static conception of society to which reference has been made in preceding pages. Not only does it ignore the greater part of man's real history, but it fails to recognise adequately the constantly changing character of the short period which is imperfectly known. The reluctance of the human mind either to admit change or make change—so much more characteristic of the old than of the young—results from the desire to avoid making a mental effort, the urge always to take the easiest path and travel along well-worn grooves. Dogmatic statements as to the advantage of immutability discourage thinking and contribute to mental inertia. The Churches repeat the words, "As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be," and steadily resist the smallest changes in their ceremonies and procedure; the largest and most powerful political party in Britain gives itself the name of "Conservative," and the common man reassures himself with the wholly unsound aphorisms "history repeats itself" and "there is nothing new under the sun." Any suggestion of change arouses an element of disapproval; "revolutionary" becomes a term of reproach and even that disarming word "Liberal" receives a certain amount of distrust, while maintenance of tradition is regarded as a virtue.

The 1914-1918 war revealed terrible errors in our civilisation, and during hostilities great promise was made of social reconstruction afterwards. Britain was to become a "land fit for heroes," and the League of Nations was to ensure international peace. Yet when peace came the dominating urge in nearly every country and in nearly every individual was to get back to pre-war conditions as quickly as possible, with the inevitable result that these conditions again led to war. The one country, the Soviet Union, which carved out a new line received the execration of the whole world.

The urge to follow the same line will again be strong. Writing in the autumn of 1943, there seems little indication of any new or effective principles being put into operation after the war. As catchwords the "Atlantic Charter" is taking the place of the League of Nations and the Beveridge Report is doing duty for the

land fit for heroes ; but Patriotism is everywhere invoked to support claims for "independence," Privilege is not threatened, and all the pre-war groups, nations large and small, religious organisations, political parties, trade unions, chambers of commerce, etc., are clearly preparing to resume their pre-war status. The doctors are resisting change in their relations to the State, and everywhere "regimentation" and "bureaucracy" have become the new foes. The possibility that war might be made to cease for all time appears scarcely to be contemplated, and already some schemes for the future visualise the contingency of a third world war.

Where vested interests are concerned the urge to revert to or maintain the institutions of the past is understandable, but respect for the achievements of the forefathers has been so ingrained into men that some, influenced solely by altruism, are led into defending the past generally, when clearly they are thinking only of certain of its features. Dr. Gilbert Murray, who has so zealously devoted himself to the cause of international peace, said, for instance, at a meeting in 1943 of University Professors and Lecturers of the Allied Countries in Great Britain :—

"There is the immense and inescapable task of maintaining European civilisation. We Europeans are trustees for the human race of a great treasure—a treasure built slowly up by the efforts of the human souls in Greece, Rome and Jerusalem, and in the free nations of modern times. People like you and me must see that it is not lost. War is deadly to a civilisation like ours. A Nazi victory would utterly destroy it. You and I can do something for the material side, but the intellectual is our special and obvious duty, and I am sure that no intellectual restoration is worth much which does not carry with it a moral restoration as well."¹

Dr. Murray speaks of "European civilisation" but does not give any definition of these words, yet the conceptions of civilisation of Oxford, Berlin, Moscow and the Vatican differ widely, so widely as at times to be incompatible. In the absence of any definition we can speak of European civilisation only in broad, general terms. We may accept Dr. Murray's view that it is built up from the ancient cultures, but we must make the conception embrace all European countries. We cannot make any division

¹ *Nature*, August 21st, 1943.

into the sheep and the goats, for over the period envisaged there is not a major country which has not at times displayed bloody-minded ferocity and which has not also made contributions to the highest literature and art.

Dr. Murray states that war is deadly to our civilisation, yet on the conception of civilisation to which we are forced, European civilisation has been marked by warfare from its inception and has been largely built up on war. The Greeks and the Romans fought each other on the field of battle, and later, Jerusalem fought them both in the field of religion and destroyed the Pagan culture,

“When for chant of Greeks the wail of Galileans,
Made the whole world moan with hymns of wrath and wrong.”

The fresh series of conflicts thus initiated has scarcely yet subsided. The boundaries of nations in Europe have been determined by war ; all European countries are organised with the prospect of war before them ; war has been the theme of great poetry, and, after the priesthood, the profession of the soldier has everywhere been the one most honoured. Had there never been war in Europe its civilisation would have been of a very different character, in ethics, ideals and social structure.

Civilisation is another of those convenient words to which each can attach his own meaning while collectively assenting to a definition which satisfies everybody. Most would agree to the interpretation that it is a state of progress and benefit to the people enjoying it, and Dr. Murray describes European civilisation as a “treasure.” Yet, what proportion of the people who have lived under it during the last half century would agree with him ? What do the Jews, the Poles, the Greeks and others who have felt the German sword think of European civilisation ? What did the Spaniard think of it when his own countrymen blasted his cities ? or the Russian peasant in the years of the famines, or the British docker during the weary years of unemployment ? Where is the treasure in a civilisation which makes great numbers of persons economically far better off in war-time than in peace ? Those who have not suffered may well be content to maintain the institutions of the past, but to a vast number of persons European civilisation has meant nothing but unspeakable misery. And if we look at the effects of European civilisation outside the boun-

daries of the Continent what answer would we have received from the exploited natives of the Congo or the starved natives of the West Indies, the Herreros of South Africa, the gassed Abyssinians, the Boers whose farms were burned in the South African war, or the syphilitic natives of Uganda ?

These considerations show that before we can speak of civilisation and the future it is necessary to attempt some definition of its ultimate purpose. Whatever conception be formed of civilisation, it is exclusively a human product ; there is no vestige in lower forms of that deliberately intended co-operation for mutual benefit which is at the foundation of human social life. Accordingly a definition of civilisation must relate it to the capacities which above all others distinguish man from the rest of the animal kingdom, his power of accumulating knowledge and his ability to reason. On this foundation the extent to which man uses his knowledge and reason for the benefit of his communities forms the best measure of his civilisations. Reason, in the absence of knowledge, may be and often has been a faulty guide. The savage is uncivilised because although he has the reasoning power he has not the knowledge ; given the knowledge he soon shows himself to be capable of any civilisation. The European is only partially civilised because though he has more knowledge than the savage he does not always conduct his collective affairs solely on the principles of reason but at times allows his knowledge and capacity to reason to be pushed aside by his emotions.

This measure of civilisation is, however, still inadequate for the words used, "benefit of the community," themselves require definition, since, while all will agree that benefit of the community is the ideal social aim, each in this question also will hold his own opinion as to what constitutes benefit. These opinions, political, religious, ethical and social, vary within the widest limits, some men regarding liberty as the ideal while others, with the highest motives, would direct their fellow-men into prescribed channels from infancy. But there is one thing common to all men and that is that each, irrespective of what he wants to do to his neighbours, wishes himself to do as he pleases. The greatest degree of happiness will accordingly, so far as the community can provide that state, be secured by giving each individual the maximum amount of liberty, in fact full liberty except the right to restrict another's liberty. This necessarily means not only freedom of expression of thought, but freedom from efforts by

the State to control or manipulate thought. It implies that the State would no longer concern itself with the furtherance of any kind of emotional or ideological conception but would devote its activities solely to the economic and physical welfare of the community, the preservation of order and the prevention and punishment of crime. It would support no form of religion nor code of morality, and would not place any religious or social group in a privileged position. It would regard war as a national danger to be provided against as much as fire, flood, famine and pestilence, and would take all necessary steps for defence, but it would cease to encourage the emotion of patriotism. State pageantry would disappear; it would no longer be considered essential to the administration of justice that judges should wear ermine and counsel wigs, or that magistrates should concern themselves with women's attire¹ and it would cease to be assumed that calling the Mayor "His Worship" and adorning him with a cocked hat and chain of office conduce to the efficiency of municipal administration. State pageantry usually has an ulterior object and it may be used for an evil as much as for a harmless purpose. Hitler employed it on a vast scale to influence the youth of Germany. On the other hand, there would be full liberty for individuals and groups to propagate any emotions or ideals they liked with such pageantry as they desired, provided they did not interfere by physical methods with any other group.

If we look back at the social developments of the last few centuries we see that the greatest benefits to humanity have accrued from those activities which are sometimes rather slightly described as based on "materialism." Men have been better fed, housed and clothed, and in every country there has been outstanding improvement in public health. Grave diseases have been stamped out in large areas and substantially reduced in others; life has been lengthened and mankind has been relieved of an appalling load of suffering. Only where emotional considerations have been allowed to interfere, as with venereal diseases, has this progress been retarded. Knowledge and reason have given to mankind the vast realms of literature and art, and science has provided him with numerous mechanical appliances which have made for his comfort, despite the fact that he has used

¹ Women have been stopped from giving evidence in court because they had not a hat; and they have been sent out of court for having bare legs and for wearing trousers.

some of them to his hurt. Knowledge and reason have since the Middle Ages helped men to discard a great volume of hampering beliefs which had their roots in ignorance, and have to a large extent removed the element of terror from religion. These gains have made for greater fullness of life in every direction, yet ignorance and superstition still remain man's greatest foes. In caring for the health and physical welfare of each, the State is on sure ground and it helps all, but in concerning itself for their souls it wanders into regions of which it knows no more than the individual and does only harm.

We can agree therefore with Professor Gilbert Murray when he emphasises intellectual reconstruction as one of the most important post-war needs. The destruction of learning by the Germans is among the worst of the evils they have perpetrated. The closing of some of the German Universities and the forcing of the professors and lecturers in others to give false teaching, the driving out of Germany of its two greatest intellects—perhaps the two whom future generations will recognise as the greatest of the age—the manipulation of school books, and, during the war, the destruction of libraries in occupied countries, constitute one of the most retrograde and pernicious steps in the history of humanity. To match this attack on knowledge we must go back to the days of St. Paul under whose teaching "many brought their books together and burned them before all men"; or the destruction of manuscripts by the early Christian Church, and the ecclesiastical persecution of scientists in later centuries.

But it is less easy to follow Dr. Murray when he states that an intellectual restoration would not be worth much without a moral restoration. The whole tenor of this book has been to show that there is not, never has been, and never will be a universal morality. The observance of moral codes is essential for the progress and happiness of humanity, but moral codes, as religions, pertain to the individual and the groups to which he voluntarily binds himself. If we are to maintain or further the ideal of freedom no man or group must have the right to force his or its moral code upon other men or groups. Written history records the disastrous effects of the many attempts to make all men think alike, and it is foolish optimism to place faith in any such further projects. We may visualise animosity between nations disappearing, their boundaries becoming merely those of convenient administrative units, but we cannot foresee the advent of a

universal language or identity of thought between men, nor the disappearance of differences of physiognomy and colour, or of physical structure, habits and outlook inevitably resulting from geophysical, educational and occupational differences.

Fundamentally all mass human conflicts are the outcome of the urge of self-interest however much the real object may be disguised by a cloak of altruism, and such conflicts will never be stopped by emotional appeals on humanitarian lines because, as we have seen, there is no psychological foundation on which these appeals can act. Men will desist from war only when they have learned its utter folly ; from religious conflicts when they have realised how devoid of any basis in reason they are, and from class conflict when they cease to be swayed by fallacious emotional arguments and misleading appearances.

The attractiveness of settling mass human disputes by recourse to reason rather than violence or threat of violence has appealed to philosophers in all ages, but only under the symbol of the hammer and the sickle has reason ever been given even a brief trial, and then it was bitterly opposed on emotional grounds by other countries. The appeal to reason implied in the scheme of the League of Nations was a tragic failure because it was not strong enough to overcome the emotional opposition aroused against it by group interests in various countries.

Large masses of men will now have another chance of shaping their destinies. These individual men, through no fault of their own, and against the will of the vast majority of them, have twice in less than half a century found themselves in a position in which they had no choice but to arm themselves to kill vast numbers of their fellow-men and devastate their countries, or to see their own countries devastated and their own cities destroyed. They and their wives and families have had to accept stark, staring reality in these years, and the choice before them now is whether in their efforts to prevent repetitions of such hideous tragedies and to establish better conditions for themselves and others, they will resolutely face truth and be guided by reason, or whether they will once more allow themselves to be influenced by emotional appeals directed towards supporting some type of vested interest under the guise of serving a universal cause. His intelligence gave man his first step from the brute, and has given him all that is good in his subsequent progress ; and his intelligence alone will save him from the evils of the baseless fears, unnecessary

restraints and falsely-grounded emotions in which in his ignorance he has enmeshed himself. Surveying the outlook from the point of view of the community, we know that social evolution, growth, development, whatever the process be called, never ceases. Change is inevitable however secure for all time men may believe the foundations of their institutions to be. But there is no justification in social history for assuming that change must proceed in the direction of what men call "higher things"; or that change is necessarily "progress" as men interpret that word. Ancient Greece and Rome spread philosophy and art among the nations in spite of much barbarity which persisted from earlier times. Then wisdom and beauty were lost to mankind; the dark ages spread over Christendom and their shadow has never yet been fully lifted from Europe. Again, after centuries, the Mediterranean peoples, from whom all Western culture originated, led the way in the reawakening of learning, and the chequered civilisation of our time followed. But its pillars are unsound, and it may be that once again knowledge and the grace of life will disappear in chaos under the dominance of ruder and intellectually inferior types. Yet there is this difference between the two periods. The ancients had not the accumulated knowledge possessed by their successors. They were—as we are—drifting at the mercy of uncontrolled currents, but unlike us they were not aware of those currents. Science had not awakened, and there was no one to tell the people of the dangers that lay before them. The nations of Europe to-day may be doomed to disappear under the corroding effects of their senseless warrings and superstitious morality, but if they do so it will not be because many voices have not warned them; it will be because they have feared truth, because "eyes they have and see not, they have ears and hear not."

APPENDIX

A NOTE ON THE MENTAL CHARACTERS OF EUROPEAN TYPES

IN Chapter V reference was made to the ethnological classification of the European peoples into Nordics, Mediterraneans and Alpines. The subject was not pursued further since all that was desired at that stage was to show that the classification has no relation to the present boundaries of nations, and that there is no foundation for Hitler's assertion that the Germans constitute a superior Nordic race. The classification was described as "tentative, incomplete and overlapping," nevertheless it possesses a certain amount of validity, for it is obvious to everyone that there is a broad difference between the, in the main, taller, blue-eyed, fair-haired peoples of the north, and the shorter, dark-complexioned peoples of the Mediterranean and adjacent countries, though individuals of both types are found in all countries.

The ethnological classification is based upon certain physical characters, the configuration of the skull, the stature and the colouring. I am unaware of any systematic attempts to correlate these physical characters with mental differences, though many vague personal impressions can be found, such as those which describe the "Celt" as "melancholy" or the "Latin" as "vivacious," and even these impressions vary from one observer to another. Most investigators have taken the view that there is no such correlation. Chalmers Mitchell, for instance, in his *Evolution and the War* (1915), says: "It is impossible to distinguish the races of Europe by mental factors, and we have to remember that the grave Spaniard is as certainly one of the Mediterranean race as the excitable Welshman or Scotch Highlander." Not all would agree with the eminent writer that the typical Spaniard is grave or the typical Welshman or Scotch Highlander excitable, but in any case these qualities are too much influenced by the environment and upbringing of the individual to form a sound basis for racial generalisations. In a later chapter Chalmers Mitchell examines statistics of suicide, divorce and crime in various countries, and points out that there is no relation between these statistics and the ethnic divisions of Europe.

But these statistics also are largely dependent upon the social conditions prevailing in the different countries. My experience on the contrary has led me to the view that there are innate differences detectable between the mentality of the Nordic and the Mediterranean, and in a book dealing with the psychology of groups it is necessary to examine this question further, although the conclusions arrived at do not affect the principles laid down in earlier chapters. In the first place, however, it is essential that I should state what that experience has been, since I cannot claim that my views are more than a personal impression though they are based upon a very considerable number of observations.

In 1917 I was placed in charge of a Special Army Medical Board which had for its purpose the examining, assessing for pension, and arranging for treatment of all cases discharged from the armed forces for any form of neurotic disorder. Later a clinic was attached to the Board for the treatment of these cases as out-patients. The numbers handled were large, and the medical staff at one time included over forty psychiatric specialists. After the conclusion of hostilities the Board and Clinic were transferred to the Ministry of Pensions, and there I continued to be closely associated with the examination and treatment of these cases. During the earlier years of this period a great step forward was made in the treatment of neurotic disorders in this country, under the stimulus of the work of Freud, Jung, Adler and other psycho-pathologists, and in addition to the cases immediately under my care I had in my official position opportunities for observing the work of the individual members of the medical staff and comparing the results of various methods of treatment, a highly instructive experience. In the present war I have been able to supplement my experience, by examination of civilians, including women, who have suffered from nervous affections as the result of enemy action.

It might be urged that observations of the sick do not afford inferences reliable when applied to the sound, but it must be remembered that neurotic disorders are not comparable to diseases which have a physical basis ; they are exaggerations, or deviations from the normal, of mental traits which are present in every one. Moreover, the human mind is like a machine in the respect that when it fails to function properly the defect can only be remedied by examination of the component parts, and

analogous examination of the human mind throws valuable light upon its working as a whole.

Starting without any preconceived ideas as to the presence of innate differences which might be regarded as racial characters, I gradually had the conviction forced upon me that there was a marked difference between the blue-eyed and the brown-eyed in their reaction to treatment, a conviction which ultimately became so strong as to influence my prognosis in any given case. I found that the brown-eyed were more receptive, quicker to appreciate the principles of treatment involved, more ready to apply these principles to themselves, and of a livelier intelligence ; the blue-eyed were more resistant and difficult to treat, and the prospect of complete cure in them was not so good as in the brown-eyed. An important step in the cure of all forms of neurotic disorder is the recognition by the sufferer that there is something wrong, lacking or weak in himself ; something for which he must hold himself responsible if he is to overcome his difficulties, and I found that the moral courage of the brown-eyed—I can use no other words—in facing an unpalatable fact was materially greater than that of the blue-eyed. Once started on such a line of thought the browns often eagerly followed it up ; the blues, on the other hand, tended to be obstinately resistant to any suggestion which seemed derogatory to themselves. They sought always to blame factors in their external environment for their symptoms, such as the severity of their physical experiences or the harsh or unreasonable behaviour of other persons. Some, who had never been in positions of danger, clung to quite inadequate reasons for their condition such as the hardships of camp life or overwork in an office. Men who had served in the field were apt to resent highly any suggestion that their disorder was not due to their battle experiences. I recall, as an instance, the case of a strong, muscular artilleryman, aged about forty-five, in perfect physical health, who nearly twenty years after his discharge from the army was still incapable of doing anything involving the smallest degree of responsibility and even of fitting himself into ordinary social life. This man was quite clearly suffering from influences which had affected him long before he joined the Army, but when on one occasion I tentatively pointed out to him that many men had had as bad and even worse experiences than he, and yet had made good recoveries, he turned to me with a face of fury and said, “Dr. Brend, have *you* ever had the wheel of a gun-

carriage go over your neck?" This type of case was very difficult to help.

Since I have used the words moral courage in this comparison, let me hasten to add that as regards physical courage I could find no difference between the two types. Nor, as far as it was possible to compare them, did there appear to be any difference between men and women, either in physical courage or in the generalisation relating to eye colour.

Having assigned to the brown-eyed a quality which is likely to be regarded as creditable, let me now make the balance equal by pointing out that in another direction they failed as compared with the blue-eyed. The treatment given in many cases involved a detailed investigation of the patient's life from childhood upwards, his emotional relations to other persons, his reactions to social difficulties, and his experiences in the Army and on the field of battle. These investigations resulted in the impression that the blue eye though less mentally receptive was the more dogged and determined, was in fact the stronger, less easily discouraged character, even though his persistence might consist in metaphorically hitting his head against a stone wall. These impressions, I suggest, correspond broadly with general experience. The blue eye is usually associated with the more forceful character; the brown eye with the retiring character of the introvert. Thus writers tend to speak of the "steely" blue eye and the "soft" brown eye; and it will generally be found that men of action, military leaders, explorers, pioneers and commercial "kings" are blue-eyed. On the other hand, we cannot expect to find a preponderance of the browns in the more intellectual spheres, since in social achievement what the brown eye gains in his greater intellectual quickness he loses in his poorer power of perseverance and determination. Hence examination of class lists, groups of professors, writers, etc., will show no excess in the number of one or the other type.

It is tempting to try to apply these discriminations to individuals, but there are obvious difficulties in doing this to well-known living persons, though many will have opportunities of testing them in their own private circle. Nor can we get much help from examination of the prominent men of the past, for it is remarkable how often there is no reliable record of their eye colour. The Mediterranean-born explorers, Columbus, Magellan and Pizarro should, in view of their birthplace, have been brown-

eyed, but may in fact all have belonged to the blue-eyed Nordic type. A recent instance of what appeared to be a typical brown-eyed character was furnished by the late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. He was a sensitive, emotional, self-centred man with an intellect well above the average. He overcame difficulties in his career, and was Prime Minister in two Labour Governments, but when faced with what was possibly the supreme crisis in his life he abnegated his leadership and placed himself under the authority of a blue-eyed man.

When, turning from individuals to large groups or nations, we compare the history of those peoples who are mainly blue-eyed with that of the preponderatingly brown-eyed peoples of the Mediterranean, we find that the generalisation as to the difference in their mentality receives considerable support. All European culture, including the alphabet, writing, mathematics, philosophy, art and the three great religions originated in the lands around or adjacent to the Mediterranean. During a period covering many centuries, when Egypt, Greece, Palestine and Rome were producing works of art or learning as great as any in human history, the dwellers of northern and central Europe were in a stage little removed from barbarism. It may be said that there is no more reason for believing that the individuals who produced these works, the makers of the Egyptian and Greek statues, the writers of the Iliad, the Psalms and Isaiah, the Romans Vergil and Horace were brown-eyed, than that Pinzon and da Gama were blue-eyed, and this is perfectly true. But the point must be made that unless the actual producers of these works had lived among a people capable of appreciating learning and art their work would have been lost. A Plato or a Praxiteles in Britain in the fifth century B.C. would have had no chance of expressing himself. The austere rudeness of Stonehenge and the beauty of the Parthenon typify the difference between the two groups of peoples.

The northern peoples have exhibited the stronger and more forceful qualities. They have been pioneers and explorers ; they have gone out into new lands and colonised distant parts of the world. And they have been great fighters. Again and again in their earlier years they descended from their fastnesses in northern and central Europe and pillaged and destroyed the cities of their intellectual superiors in the south, yet later to absorb from them the beginnings of their culture. The Romans themselves were

not great fighters except against other Mediterranean peoples; they extended their empire in north-west Europe with the aid of foreign legions, and when these revolted the Empire fell. They were never able to conquer the barbarian Germans, and it is to this day a factor in the distressing condition of Europe that these hordes never came under the civilising influence of Roman occupation. Once more the blond beast, as Nietzsche called him, has struck out with his brutal fist, and once more we have seen how much greater are his persistence and determination than those shown by his dark-eyed allies whom he has cajoled or pressed into his service.

The preceding remarks have referred solely to the Nordic and Mediterranean peoples, for opportunities of observing the Alpine character are limited in this country. Nor can we infer much from groups of this type. As with the Nordics, culture was late in coming to them and most of it with them also was derived from the Mediterraneans, but the climate of much of their land, and their relatively isolated geographical position may have been influences in retarding their development. At the present time the peoples of U.S.S.R. are showing activities as intellectual, determined and courageous as those recorded of any people in history, but we can make no ethnological deductions from this fact for though the round-headed Alpine or Slav type predominates, the people of this vast area are ethnologically as mixed as any in Europe, and we require much more detailed information about their physical and mental characters before deductions on this basis can be made.

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